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ABSTRACT

This report begins with summaries of the ten popular desegregation plan strategies implemented after the 1954 Supreme Court decision. These strategies encompass the following: neighborhood schools, educational parks, voluntary transfer, gerrymandering attendance zones, closing minority schools, pupil assignment, organization by grades (Princeton Plan), site selection, supplementary centers, and magnet schools. Practices felt to have current relevance are discussed and include case studies on new ideas in urban education for tackling the areas of urban sprawl, community resources and involvement, air rights, educational parks, the "House" Plan, the magnet school, closure of certain schools, school desegregation by pairing, the central school concept, open enrollment, and freedom of choice. The "audiobus" innovation to bussing, decentralization (including a criticism of the Bundy plan), the law and school desegregation, and criteria for evaluating alternative plans for school desegregation are also presented. Appended are an annotated bibliography, and author and subject indexes. (KG)

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ALTERNATIVE METHODS, PRACTICES, AND CONCEPTS FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

A Review of the Literature and Annotated Bibliography

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Compiled by

James M. Laing, Ed.D.

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PREFACE

Seeking solutions to concerns relative to desegregation and gleaning the positive aspects inherent in an adequate ethnic mix within school populations, is one of the most agonizing problems facing school districts throughout the land. Much has been written about alternative methods, practices, and concepts for dealing with these concerns and problems. That which has been written is scattered throughout the literature in bits and pieces and under a variety of headings.

The purpose of this bulletin is to pull together some of the most pertinent and current writing on the subject so that it can be more easily utilized by the school practitioner. The writer of this bulletin does not claim to have exhausted the information available, but instead has attempted to search out that information which seems most likely to have the greatest relevancy to the problems at hand.

James M. Laing

DESEGREGATION PLANS SUMMARIZED(1)

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(1)Note: The compiler of this Bulletin has drawn heavily upon the ideas, findings, and work of Dr. Howard Hickey, Assistant Director, Mott Institute For Community Improvement, Michigan State University. Acknowledgement is made and appreciation given for the use of Dr. Hickey's unpublished doctoral dissertation.

Plans for school desegregation have been developed and implemented, both with success and lack of success, since the 18th century in this country. Early schools desegregated by the simple technique of allowing Negroes in small numbers to enroll in white schools.

Analysis of many plans, that were proposed and implemented after the Supreme Court decision on desegregation in 1954, indicate that they may be categorized into ten plan strategies. A number bear similarities to each other. The ten categories are:

1. Neighborhood schools
2. Educational parks
3. Voluntary transfer
4. Gerrymandering attendance zones
5. Closing minority schools
6. Pupil assignment
7. Organization by grades (Princeton Plan)
8. Site selection
9. Supplementary centers
10. Magnet schools

Any one of these categories, or a combination of them, is the basis for all desegregation proposals. Few school districts have concentrated upon a single plan but rather have tried several approaches. The current tendency of experts in the field is to advocate a plan strategy which involves all students, or at least a large majority.

The serious limitation of all organizational plans is that they can exert only an external pressure toward desegregation. The internal pressures of what happens to students within the school is a far more difficult problem. All variables must be taken into account, such as housing patterns, community attitudes and resources, social class, and others in addition to what organizational pattern is to be employed.

A brief analysis of the advantages and limitations of certain alternatives for school desegregation is as follows:

1. Neighborhood Schools

Probably the best possibility for bringing about desegregation in small communities is the neighborhood school. This is particularly true in small Southern communities, with unique housing patterns, and where a dual system has been in operation. In these cases a more efficient integrated neighborhood school can be established.

The limitations of this method are most apparent where *de facto* segregation, as is the case in most medium and large cities, is a fact of life. However good the intentions, a continuation of the neighborhood school concept in this setting is bound to insure segregated education for years to come.

2. Educational Parks

The educational park concept is not a particularly new one, but is receiving renewed attention in recent years as a potential force for eliminating segregation in schools. The supporters of the concept see many advantages. The primary advantages are a more efficient use of personnel, facilities, and resources. Of particular concern to the problem of desegregation is the possibility of bringing together diverse populations, cutting across social, ethnic, economic, age, education, and racial groups.

The potential for establishing communication between political, educational and community institutions is inherent in the concept. Utilization of the educational park for non-school related functions is also increased.

The factors of bigness and the impersonal characteristics of a multi-institution are obvious disadvantages. Other disadvantages are initial capital-ization costs, travel distances for students, and site location of such a structure.

With respect to desegregation, one of the greatest limitations to the park concept is the time factor. The magnitude of such a project requires considerable planning time, complex financial approval from taxpayers and legislators and construction time. By the time a park is implemented, there is a real possibility that there will be no white students left in the city to desegregate with Negroes. The most promise is held for inter-district or metropolitan plans for educational parks.

It is generally conceded that meaningful integration must occur in the elementary grades. From this standpoint, the emphasis on secondary education in proposed parks is another very limiting factor.

3. Voluntary Transfer

This type of plan allows minority youth, who wish to be desegregated, to attend desegregated schools. On the surface, therefore, the voluntary transfer plan has a great deal to recommend it. In actual practice, however, the evidence indicates that students will not transfer, particularly white children. It must be remembered that under a voluntary transfer plan there can be transfer out as well as in. Often there is little welcome in the host school for minority students who do transfer. For these reasons, voluntary transfer plans have often provided token desegregation for some districts. Free, rapid transit transportation, worked out in a number of cities, would enhance the effectiveness and success of such a plan.

4. Gerrymandering Attendance Zones

In order for relocating, or gerrymandering of school attendance zones to successfully reduce school segregation, at least three conditions must exist:

(1) Existing attendance zones originally located to preserve segregation; (2) natural barriers, patterns of traffic, and the location of schools are such that a number of attendance zones may be drawn; (3) sufficient white population adjoining the zone in question.

Relocation of attendance zones can be an effective method of integration if these conditions exist. In cities the size of New York, Detroit, or Chicago, with large concentrations of Negroes in ghetto areas, this method is unlikely to succeed except in fringe areas.

5. Closing Minority Schools

A number of cities have successfully dispersed minority youth to white schools by closing minority schools. In such a case there must be room in host schools or new schools must be built. With this segregation alternative the taxpayers must be willing to pay the inevitable additional cost and there must be available transportation. The entire desegregation program may be jeopardized unless concerned citizens are assured that future use of the closed schools has been carefully planned.

6. Pupil Assignment

Because they ultimately require a different pupil assignment from the prior system, nearly all desegregation plans might be classified as a pupil assignment plan. Grand Rapids, Michigan effectively used the pupil assignment plan. The administration assigned students from five white schools and six predominantly minority schools to bring about a better socio-economic, racial, and ethnic mix. This plan has a definite economic advantage. There is little or no additional need for facilities, staff, or large amounts of additional revenue. Transportation is not a major consideration where schools are in close proximity to each other.

Often the emotional climate in the various white communities becomes a major disadvantage of the pupil assignment plan. There can be a substantial white migration elsewhere if the whites feel they are no longer in control of the situation. This is the problem of tilt which is considered to occur when the Negro population reaches 35 to 40%. A tilt situation can undo all segregation plans. For this reason it is imperative that white students who are assigned to predominently black schools, receive a good education. This can positively effect the quality of education in all schools.

7. Organization by Grades (Princeton Plan)

The concept of organizing by grades has come to be known as the Princeton Plan because it received its initial impetus in Princeton, New Jersey. Under this plan, the children of two or more schools are reassigned to the schools on the basis of each school housing all the students in a particular series of grades. For example, school "A" would house all children from one through two, school "B" would take all pupils in grades three and four, while school "C" could contain grades five and six. Although some remodeling may be necessary, the plan does not require additional staffing, facilities or other resources. The emotional overtones found in some pupil assignment plans, are minimal, if not completely absent, with this plan.

There are problems with the plan although they are of a less serious nature than those of some other plans. The lower grades do not have older boys and girls from which to draw crossing and other types of patrols. This problem can be overcome by using volunteer parents or paid paraprofessionals. The plan may deny broad grouping for non-graded programs and might also cause children to attend school at a greater distance from home. The literature indicates the plan of pairing schools has been quite successful in small communities.

8. Site Selection

Site selection can promote desegregation as well as segregation where a school district's student population is expanding at a rapid rate, and/or where replacement of facilities is necessary. At best, site selection is a supplementary strategy to other desegregation plans.

Some districts, for one reason or another, cannot build new facilities. Site selection in this case is of little value. In a situation where the emphasis and attention is on outer city expansion, having the inner core city in a status quo, site selection has only limited value. Where school planning, monetary authorization, and construction takes four or five years, site selection does not assist in immediate efforts toward desegregation.

9. Supplementary Centers

Supplementary Centers, now being favorably considered because of their desegregation potentials, have been built and used by school districts over the years to provide specialized instruction. It is considerably easier to convince parents of the educational values to accrue from a supplementary center than it is on other plans for desegregating schools.

The chief disadvantage of the supplementary center is that it only provides limited desegregation. While those attending the Center are desegregated, the majority of students remaining in other schools are segregated. Other disadvantages are heavy financing, scheduling, and transporting students for a portion of the day, week, or year. Although knowledgeable educators stress the fact that desegregation appears to be most valuable in the early years, it is hard to sell parents and teachers on the need for specialization in the elementary grades.

It is worthy of note that the conversion of an existing school in the Negro community, into a supplementary center, might combine the advantages of the Closing Minority Schools and Pupil Assignment plans.

10. Magnet Schools

As the name implies, the Magnet School draws students through the magnetism of superior learning opportunities. In recent years this concept, as a means of partial integration, has captured the imagination of institutions of higher education as well as public school practitioners. Some would picture the Magnet School as a public school with a private school flavor. It has the advantage of allowing enrollment to be controlled to *prescribe* rather than *proscribe* socio-economic, racial, and ethnic mix. Rather than stressing operation of the most economical program, the quality of education is the focal point. Instead of appealing to all interests, the Magnet school has a unique educational feature that appeals to all children interested in it. Sufficiently large numbers of white parents can be induced to send their children to such schools because of the quality of its featured educational opportunity. This can guarantee desegregation in that particular school.

The chief disadvantages are the initial cost, the time span from planning to opening is too great, and while there will be desegregation in the school itself other schools would remain segregated. These are the same disadvantages as cited for the Supplementary Centers and, to a lesser degree, the Educational Park.

The time disadvantage, which has been cited in most plans, can be largely discounted from experience. Shortly after the 1954 Supreme Court decision on desegregation, many Southern schools asked to be allowed to desegregate one grade per year. This request was not allowed on the grounds that a twelve-year span would take place before such schools would be desegregated. As a result, a vast amount of token desegregation has taken place, whereas, if the original request had been granted, the schools making the request would be totally desegregated. For planners who fear the decisions of long range planning, it would be well for them to look at the history of desegregation, before rejecting plans with long time spans before implementation.

CONCEPTS FOR A CHANGING SOCIETY

Opposing Principles Relative to Big City School Size

All school districts throughout the nation are in search of viable plans to serve the broadest spectrum of community with the most relevant education possible. Robert Havighurst points out two opposing principles for bringing this about.

> ". . . There are two opposite principles that bear on the question of the size of the big-city school. One is the need to make the school serve a diversified population. This argues for a large school, with students coming to it from a wide area. The other is the need to 'take the school to the people'--to make it a neighborhood resource. This calls for small schools distributed throughout the area.
>
> "We find both principles applied in the projects for social urban renewal. On the one hand, there is the 'education park' in its strict form: a large campus that contains all the schools serving a large area--from elementary school up to community college. Pupils who live a considerable distance from the park are bussed to school. The school does not lend itself easily to local neighborhood uses. Such a unit may serve 10,000 to 20,000 pupils, with a high school enrollment of 2,000 to 4,000.
>
> "On the other hand, if the principle of the school as a neighborhood center is followed, the schools will be relatively small and will tend to serve neighborhood areas that are more homogeneous in socio-economic and racial terms than the larger area served by an education park. For young children, this is the kind of school that is favored by most parents--a school within a few blocks of home, to which children can walk in safety.
>
> "In practice, we are likely to see a combination of the two principles. There may be an education park with a high school and community college that serve a large area, together with a junior high school or middle school that serves a smaller area, and a primary school that serves an even smaller area close to the park.
>
> "This creates a dilemma for the educator, since we know that integrated school experience is an important, if not more so, for young children as it is for adolescents.
>
> "The best solution for the near future may be one that is worked out by the school administration in terms of the particular area of the city under consideration. An administrator at the district level, together with a group of school principals in the area, may work with the leaders of community organizations to design the physical pattern of schoolhouse distribution. This group would express the parental attitudes that are consistent with the urban-community-school philosophy. Its plans must be made in the light of the facts of the area--the existing school buildings that will be usable for a number of years, the land available for school park purposes, and the broad city redevelopment plan with its

provision for parks, greenbelts, expressways, and public services."(2)

Charles W. Brubaker, a partner in an architectural firm with broad experience in school facility planning, suggests that city schools should be planned with other urban facilities, and should be closely related to streets, parks, community social and cultural facilities, and to other educational institutions. Although these ideas are inherent in most current educational planning, Brubaker's generalizations on the subject are worth recounting.

> "This form of integration will be more prevalent in the planned towns and cities of the future than in the traditional cities of the past and present.
>
> "If, then, we begin to tie all these pieces together--changes in the nature of cities themselves, changes in the educational program, and changes in educational media--we can draw a few rough generalizations about the urban schools of tomorrow.
>
> "First, I believe that these schools will be interrelated in great systems linked together by electronic and other devices for relaying information, and by appropriate transit facilities for moving pupils. Although the over-all systems will involve large numbers of students (depending, of course, on the size of the community, among other things),' individual schools will not need to be large. They can be kept small and can be located conveniently near student residences. Sudents, nevertheless, will enjoy a high degree of mobility, spending part of their time at a 'home base' school, but also moving via rapid transit or other means to specialized program centers.
>
> "Second, each individual will have something approximating his own unique program and his own schedule. He will move freely in time and space through a nongraded system. The use of new media will encourage concentration of resources and services at supplemental and regional centers, but will also encourage dispersal of use, since electronic access to information can be widespread.
>
> "Third, urban school design will embrace typically urban building forms, such as high-rise, underground, and air-rights construction, but this, too, will depend heavily on the type of urban community involved.
>
> "Finally, schools will be integrated with other community facilities. The schools, themselves, will become community centers for

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(2)Toffler, Alvin (Editor), The Schoolhouse in the City, (In Cooperation with Educational Facilities Laboratory) Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, New York, 1968, pp. 56-57.

> education, culture, and recreation, expressing the growing recognition that 'living' and 'learning' are one. In this way, the schools of the future will mesh with the cities of the future in a new, more fruitful fashion than ever before."(2a)

Plans put forth to serve ends put forth in the above citations have two basic features in common. First, they tend to broaden school attendance areas to assure the greatest heterogeneity of school population. Second, they would improve the quality of education.

Changing Concepts of the "American Schoolhouse"

The American schoolhouse, according to Harold Gores, president of Educational Facilities Laboratories, has become the arena of battle between two gigantic forces within the present social structure. The first arises from the collision of the poor and the affluent cultures. The second is the educational revolution which "springs from university laboratories, federal research projects, and technically oriented industry seeking peacetime markets." He contends that the structure of the American schoolhouse must change from the rigid formulas of the past if it is to meet these outside pressures. Gores' outline of suggested new formulas are:

> "1. *Formulas for size of school:* Until about 1958, the conventional educational wisdom declared that, ideally, elementary schools should provide two classes per grade and that high schools, to be efficient, should enroll at least 750 students. If enrollment exceeded 1,250, it was believed, the school would be massive and insensitive.
>
> "But we now know that if monolithic line and staff administration (imported by Horace Mann from Prussia more than a century ago) is replaced by decentralized control, by schools-within-schools, by houses, and by subschools a school can then be as large as it needs to be--and still be good. The absolutes no longer apply.
>
> "2. *Formulas for size of site:* From time to time, various official bodies proclaim how much land is proper for a school. One of the latest pronouncements for an elementary school is 20 acres, plus an acre for every 100 children. That such a formula, if applied in our central cities, would wipe out the homes of the student body seems to have been overlooked.

(2a) Ibid, Toffler, p. 73.

"We know now, though, that very good city schools can be built on very limited sites, if only we depart from the design cliches of the suburbs. The platforming of space, the use of rooftop playgrounds, the substitution of nylon for blacktop play fields--all these serve to make obsolete the ancient rules of thumb about size of site.

"3. *Formulas for organization--6-3-3; 8-4; 6-2-4; 6-2-2-2; and other mystical arrangements:* The Boston Latin School was established in 1635, thereby leading, it is claimed, to the founding of Harvard College a year later, so that Latin graduates would have someplace to go. Whatever the truth may be, as a nation we have enshrined the elementary school since 1642, the free and universal high school since the 1860's, and the junior high school since 1910. Only now are the classic arrangements of schools by grades beginning to crumble and this is happening principally because the notion of 'grade' itself is being challenged.

"When New Haven sought to rethink and renew its schools, Cyril Sargent decreed that the sensible and sensitive arrangement would be 4-4-4. New York City is groping toward 5-3-4 on its way ultimately to 4-4-4. But it won't be long before some advanced city decides that a school should consist simply of all the children it is sensible to gather there. School size and composition have suddenly become questions of logistics, not of inherited cultural patterns. Here, too, the old 'givens' are becoming unstuck.

"4. *Formulas for length of life:* Ordinarily, school buildings are built to last forever--actually for sixty years, which in today's world is the reasonable equivalent. Accordingly, the schoolhouse is still the quintessence of the mason's art--great ceramic fortresses whose chambered interiors are laced with calcium walls. Within the classrooms are filled with furniture indestructible enough to defy any scholar who may unsheath a jacknife to leave evidence that he once passed through the place. In these schools, much admired by the maintenance department at city hall, nothing yields, nothing nourishes the eye or is warm to the touch. The city schoolhouse, new or old, represents the municipal mind at its cruelest. It is a strange phenomenon: Individually we like children, but as groups--as governments--we don't.

"Despite this nuts-and-bolts approach to places of learning, we know some things on which we should act:

"1. In view of the mobility of populations, any solution that is incapable of being converted someday to another use is imprudent.

"2. In view of the changes likely to occur in the way we teach, any arrangement expected to last sixty years without change is Procrustean where it should be protean.

"3. In view of the changing nature of the central city, the building of a conventional schoolhouse should be contemplated only as a last resort. It is fallacious to declare, as we always have,

> that because there are children to be educated we automatically need a schoolhouse. If there are children to be educated, what we need is space in which to do it. Only if the space is lacking, only if there are no available 'roofs' under which we can constitute a humane and supportive environment for learning, do we need a schoolhouse. Indeed, from what I have observed in Cleveland's Supplementary Educational Center (a converted warehouse), many of our cities' children would be better off if they could escape forever the old city schoolhouse."(3)

Gores contends that if changes in the structure of archaic schoolhouse concepts are to come about there must be a cooperative partnership between all agencies of the core city and the suburbs. None of these political elements can do the job alone. He lists a number of ways in which such a partnership may be consummated:

> "1. In Boston, there is some hope that the public schools and Tufts Medical School will together constitute a medical village--a constellation of schools and housing that will be a viable and safe neighborhood.
>
> "2. In New York, the so-called Garrison Law will enable the New York City schools to enter into partnership with the private sector to the end that joint-occupancy structures, housing both educational facilities and apartments--or even light manufacturing--may come about. This may be the first instance growing out of law in which schools will enter the business of creating neighborhoods.
>
> "3. Increasingly, I see the development of schools that aren't just for children but for people. To be sure, the young need to be served, but the schoolhouse committed only to the young is too specialized for the city's good. Indeed, if all parts of our cities are to become good places for people to live, committing the schools solely to the young is too low a process. Adults need the schoolhouse as much as children do. And adults determine what happens now, not a generation hence. To put the matter in bluntest terms, the schoolhouse in the slums should be the people's college, their town hall, their cultural center, their country club, their school.
>
> "I view with special alarm the kinds of schoolhouses designed to defend themselves from hostile neighborhoods. The invention of unbreakable glass is not a major contribution to our culture or to school design. Nor, in my view, is the windowless school which, like a Spanish mission, turns its back on the desert. Schools designed to defend themselves from hostile neighborhoods imply that the neighborhood won't improve by the year 2030.
>
> "4. In Chicago, there is the beginning of a study based on demographic trends, population movements, birth rates extrapolated forward rather than interpolated backwards, and arrangements with private and church-related systems that exist, side by side, with the public schools.

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(3)Ibid., Toffler, Alvin, pp. 167-169.

> From my observations, any city that attempts to plot its future course in education without regard to the companion system of church-related schools is planning in a vacuum. Chicago may well teach us all how to construct a system that will educate all the children of all the people.
>
> "5. America's big cities have failed to take advantage of their volume of construction to entice industry to develop modular systems of design and construction based on performance specifications. Pittsburgh is a notable exception to this rule, but, generally, our big cities have not been alert to systems development as have been, for example, the Metropolitan School Board of Toronto, the Catholic schools of Montreal, the universities of California and Indiana with respect to academic buildings, and a number of smaller school systems outlying Los Angeles and San Francisco.
>
> "It is an interesting question why there is a Valley Winds School on the periphery of St. Louis but not in it, a Barrington Middle School outlying Chicago, a Sonora High School outlying Los Angeles, a Sheldon School in Colorado but not in Denver, a systems school in Athens, Ga., but not in Atlanta, a Nova High School in Fort Lauderdale but not in Miami, and a systems school coming up in Gates-Chili but not in Rochester, or indeed anywhere else in New York State, except a little-known town named Greece. Why this should be so is obvious: Our cities are too complex in their decision-making to respond quickly to advances in the state of the art. From the record, it would appear that the bigger the school district, the less likely it can grasp the advantages of technological progress.
>
> "6. Schools are subsystems of government. Unless schools are planned within the total planning of the community, three dire consequences are predictable: schools will be located where someday nobody may live; they will fail to acquire buffer zones and tentacles reaching out to the community and, therefore, will be islands; and they won't get the money, much of which will be coming from Washington under conditions that require total community planning."(4)

The inter-planning of schools with other community agencies is not only feasible but provides a relevancy to the concept that the entire community is an educational laboratory. The implementation of such a concept, whether one agrees with it or not, is fast becoming a necessity in large cities where the high cost of real estate makes a single purpose facility undesirable. Cities, such as New York and Chicago, are pioneering a "joint occupancy" plan which is directed toward this problem. The Educational Facilities Laboratory reports on this plan.

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(4) Ibid., Toffler, Alvin, pp. 171-172.

"New York and Chicago both have created elementary school facilities in public housing projects by altering space originally designed as apartments. And New York is planning two projects, one in a middle-income housing development and the other in a private apartment complex. In both cases the lower floors of the apartment structures will be designed as school space and attached low-rise buildings will house auxiliary facilities such as auditoriums and cafeterias.

"A third project, now in the proposal stage, creates a community atmosphere both within and without the structure. The school, on ground and subterranean levels, is topped by a level of commercial shops and four levels of apartments. Two levels of parking are beneath the underground recreational areas. There is an interior court and playground. Other community services, such as medical and mental health clinics, are encompassed within the building. All facilities, including the auditorium, gymnasium, and swimming pool, will be available for public use after school hours.

"Although New York has a public junior college operating in a high-rise office building, public school space has yet to be built into office buildings. But such a move has been under study in New York for some five years. Specifically, the plans call for construction of a commercial high school topped by a high-rise office building on the east side of the midtown commercial district. It still has not been determined whether the school board will hold title to the site and building or whether the building will be erected and owned by a private developer and the school space leased to the City.

"Either way, the Board of Education stands to gain. If it owns the building, rental incomes will more than offset the loss of real estate taxes normally involved when a city takes over property. If a developer owns the building, the City will continue to collect taxes and expects to recover its share of the cost of the building in the first generation of the building's life.

"Or, under newly enacted state legislation, the New York City Education Construction Fund has been created and is authorized to build schools, selling or leasing the air rights above them for apartment or office space. The resulting income would contribute to the cost of the schools.

"In Chicago, school authorities have taken a different approach to joint occupancy. The six-story classroom wing of the City's new Jones Commercial High School was designed to support a fifteen-story commercial tower. But erection of the tower will await conclusion of a suitable agreement for sale or rental of air rights over the school to a developer.

"The joint-occupancy schemes have advantages other than helping to overcome high real estate costs. Space is freed for parks and playgrounds. Provision can be made for future fluctuations in the size and composition of school enrollments. If enrollments fall off, properly

> designed school space can be converted to apartment or office use, or vice versa."(5)

The City is the School

A "far horizon" type of school, which puts into practice the concept that the total resources of the city is the educational environment in which relevant education takes place, in its truest form, is in operation in Philadelphia. Special features of the Parkway program are:

1. No school building or classroom
2. Courses offered all around the city
3. Students help here and evaluate teachers
4. Students aid in curriculum planning
5. Student-faculty management groups run the program
6. No formal discipline or dress code
7. Students selected by lottery
8. Business and industry contribute some teachers
9. Cost per student, $600.

The Philadelphia Parkway project is a far cry from the conventional school "box" which is separated from the larger community except in incidental ways. John Bremer, the director of the innovative school explains the program as follows:

> "The Parkway program has an obvious jumping off point that makes it different from other high schools. It has no central school building and no fixed site for class sessions -- except a rented loft where students keep their belongings and hold weekly meetings with the faculty.
>
> "The city is the school, and in tapping its resources, some 400 students this fall will attend classes at a wide variety of cultural, scientific and business institutions, the majority of which are located along a two mile stretch of the famous Benjamin Franklin Parkway in the heart of Philadelphia. . . .
>
> "It is not possible, Bremer believes, to improve the high school as we know it. 'What is needed,' he concludes, 'is a new kind of education institution. In the Parkway program, we study the city in the city. Since our lives are inseparable from the city, it is our campus and our curriculum.'

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(5) Ibid., Toffler, Alvin, pp. 175-176.

"On foot or on specially provided shuttle buses, Parkway students roam their city, choosing from some 90 different courses offered at the participating institutions. English and literature, for example, are taught at the Free Public Library that houses nearly a million volumes; zoology and anthropology at the Philadelphia Zoo; biology at the Academy of Natural Sciences; statistics and business management at the Insurance Company of North America.

"Students may also find themselves at such institutions as the city's newspapers, radio and TV stations, city hall, the police station or the county court building (where a special course in law enforcement is taught by a young law graduate working as an assistant district attorney).

"While the high schoolers must satisfy state requirements in basic subjects such as English, mathematics and social studies, these are offered in a variety of different courses geared to the needs and interests of the students. Mathematics, for example, is taught at the Franklin Institute where students can choose from offerings like mathematics for science or mathematics for computers.

"The Parkway program is unusual not only in the physical facilities provided for the youngsters, but also in the extent of student involvement in the program's overall management.

"Students make their own decisions about the subjects they want to study, designing their curriculum to add courses, like photography and filmmaking, as they go along. They also have an equal voice with the program's administrators in selecting their teachers and regularly attend Friday morning faculty meetings.

"The ungraded classes combine youngsters at all four high school levels - drawing from an extremely heterogeneous collection of academic and cultural backgrounds across the city. No behavioral or academic standards are used for admission - more than 2,000 applied for the 143 places available in the program last February and selection was made by dividing the applicants into eight district categories and then drawing names from a hat. . . .

"But in spite of the Parkway's apparent free-wheeling atmosphere, Bremer insists, the program is actually tightly structured. Students, he feels, spend more time studying than their counterparts from regular high school. The school day lasts from nine to five for many of the program's youngsters, with special Saturday classes. . . .

"Students are randomly divided into nine groups called tutorials with about 16 students in each. The tutorial is the group in which the student works on basic skills required for a diploma and is given remedial or advanced work. Theoretically, it is also the place where he receives personal support and counsel from his teachers and in which he and the teachers undertake an evaluation of the program as a whole. The program also has student 'management groups' to run the school. Management groups have been formed around areas like self government, public relations, athletics, fund raising, and extracurricular activities.

"In addition to the institutional offerings and the basic skills, the academic curriculum also includes elective offerings in the humanities, physical sciences, and social studies taught by the Parkway faculty. Students are encouraged to participate in individual study programs with one or two other students and also are given the opportunity to enter the work programs which can lead to vacation jobs or career possibilities.

"Students receive only pass or fail grades, but evaluation of their performance is, nonetheless an important part of the process. At the end of each semester, students and teachers are involved in a two-week evaluation which takes place in the tutorial groups. The faculty evaluates the student's progress and each student evaluates his own progress and that of the faculty. A form is sent home to parents asking them also to evaluate their child's growth in the program. . . .

"Some observers have called the Parkway approach as overly simplistic, naive or 'Utopian' solution to the urban educational bind. First of all, they argue that the program doesn't begin to provide a solution to the more complex problems urban schools are confronting - like teachers who are inadequately trained and students burdened by the physical and psychological effects of poverty. They question, too, the educational validity of the courses offered at the city's institutions, and wonder whether instituional personnel are really equipped to be teachers - or just competent public relations men and tour guides.

"These are some of the questions still to be answered in the young Parkway experiment. The final report card will not be in for several years. But the school's supporters are confident that when it does come out it will, at the very least, credit the Philadelphia program with an innovative attempt to gear education to needs of youngsters who will be living the bulk of their lives in the 21st Century."(6)

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(6) Cox, Donald W., "A School Without Walls: A City for a Classroom," Nation's Schools, September, 1969, pp. 51-54.

PRACTICES WITH CURRENT RELEVANCE

Five Case Studies On New Ideas in Urban Education

Five school districts in the east and mid-west have taken action approaches to the problems of urban education. They are indicative of the variety of programs across the country which are addressed to the problem of bringing about less imbalance in the nation's schools. Their summarization is as follows:(7)

1. Hempstead, N. Y. - Community Involvement

"The Living Room School:

"PROBLEM:
How to regenerate hope, purposeful life, and improvement in the physical environment of the disadvantaged areas of our urban communities. The neighborhood or subcommunity becomes the identifiable working unit where some form of cohesiveness is possible in structuring a working entity. The security of a small friendly group is needed to permit every child to have a security tie.

"STATISTICS:
A typical subcommunity.
(a) One block of walkup apartments facing a common street.
(b) 30 apartments.
(c) 90 families.
(d) 450 population.
(e) 180 school age children:

(1) Prekindergarten	60
(2) 1-4	50
(3) 5-8	40
(4) 9-12	30

"PROPOSAL:
1. Project Head Start has proven to be a viable solution in dealing with early childhood education and development for the disadvantaged child. This program starts with Head Start and expands the concept to serve all age levels. It also offers a vehicle for infusing an attitude of self-help in the subcommunity.

"2. The 180 school age children would be divided into 18 groups of ten. Each group of ten would be assigned to three adults who would set up an educational program, coordinated with the under direction of the local school district.

"3. Each group of ten would also be the 'second family' and the leaders would be responsible adults capable and willing to care for the unmet needs of the children lacking sufficient parental care and direction.

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(7) David, Donald L., and John A. Shaver, "New Ideas in Urban Education," Nation's Schools, March, 1969, pp. 67-82.

"4. The physical environment of the subcommunity would take on a 'New Look' as 18 apartments would be remodeled to serve as Living Room Schools for a portion of the day--converting to a living space as needed. Flexible and convertible furniture and equipment in the apartment would be required to serve both the Living Room School needs and those of the family living in the apartment.

"5. The entire subcommunity would be involved as work forces in remodeling the apartments into Living Room Schools. A sense of pride would evolve to stimulate further improvement in the physical environment of the neighborhood. These remodeling projects would be 'bright spots of hope' and 'pride' in an otherwise deprived and depressing environment."

2. Nassau County, N. Y.--Urban Sprawl

"Interdistrict Linkages:

"PROBLEM:
How to provide equal educational opportunities in the Urban Sprawl consisting of widely divergent socio-economic levels and a complete social and ethnic mix.

"STATISTICS:

1. 298 square miles (Nassau County) Long Island, New York
2. 425,000 students
3. 56 school districts
4. 75,000 students to be served in the vocational-Technical Areas
5. Course Offerings--53 subject areas

"PROPOSAL:
Establish a carefully linked network of area and central vocational centers that draw across individual school district boundaries.

"1. One CENTER would supplement the area centers, providing facilities and services beyond the financial reach of the individual school district, i.e.:
(a) Occupational education
(b) Special education
(c) Central buying and warehousing
(d) Transportation pool
(e) Research and development
(f) Inservice education
(g) Experimental classrooms
(h) Multimedia resource center (motion picture, radio and TV)
(i) Professional library
(j) Laboratory school
(k) Furniture and equipment testing and evaluation

"2. Organize County into areas, each containing an AREA CENTER, designed to serve 25,000 students.

"3. Neighborhood Learning Nodes: A concept that will help reduce alienation by accenting the INDIVIDUAL--developing an improved SELF CONCEPT by:

(a) Providing a 'second family' to relate to.
(b) Cross-culture
(c) Cross-ethnic
(d) Cross-race
(e) Mixed age levels
(f) Creative problem solving
(g) Bringing to the individual an understanding of his role in society.

"4. A second level transportation linkage to facilitate movement of faculty, students and resource material between centers and school district headquarters.

"5. A communication linkage to all educational facilities in the County and to the Neighborhood Learning Nodes and the homes (TV and radio)--to facilitate efficient transmittal of all audio and video information.

"6. The above facilities are intended to supplement, not replace, existing academic programs. Local school districts would retain their identity and would be encouraged to increase their efforts in the pursuit of academic excellence."

3. Philadelphia, Pa.--Air Rights

"Education Superblock:

"PROBLEM:
How to weave a prekindergarten through higher education and continuing education complex into the total fabric of an existing, densely settled inner city community without dislocating families through land acquisition and clearance.

"STATISTICS:
1. 105,000 population

2. Educational enrollment:	Parochial	Public
Prekindergarten	2,000	4,000
K-4	6,000	10,000
5-8	4,000	8,000
9-12.	3,000	6,000
Special Education		3,000
Community College		6,000
Vocational-Technical		4,500
University (Temple U.)		50,000
Adult Education		5,000
Continuing Education		3,500
	15,000	100,000
Total		115,000

3. 30,00 families

"PROPOSAL:
Utilize air rights over an existing railroad station to replace urban renewal and provide a veneer of second level transportation and communication linkage over the business, industrial and residential community.

"Philadelphia like most cities is land poor for development of public facilities to meet the escalating demands of its citizenry. The problem of finding land is particularly acute in inner city areas where practically any proposal for new facilities or even greater amenity requires the dislocation of hundreds of families.

"The Philadelphia School Board completed a major school location study in 1967 which identified Broad Street as a major institutional corridor with specific connections to existing and planned schools in the North Philadelphia area. A major recommendation of this study was the development of the Penn-Central station site as a satellite core with a heavy input of institutional users.

"Temple University, an urban school serving the needs of almost 40,000 students (50,000 by 1972), is located on Broad Street at two locations one-half mile distant north and south from the station site.

"The city is searching for a site on which to locate a campus of the Community College. Prime requirements are good mass transit, central location, and individual institutional identity.

"The Penn-Central North Philadelphia Station is now heavily used and the prognosis for the future is even heavier use once the Boston to Washington high speed corridor is going at full tilt. The existing station is obsolete, a financial liability and represents a blighting influence.

"Housing and commercial facilities are a major requirement for improvement of North Philadelphia, an area which now contains some 300,000 people.

"The opportunity exists to tie these needs of the city together at one location in a way which will provide a significant impetus to the total community development process in North Philadelphia.

"Essentially what has been proposed is development of a satellite core that develops air rights for multipurpose use to make the economics of creating new land feasible and that best utilizes the natural transportation access the site provides.

"The core would contain at a minimum the following:

a. Community College: 6,000 students with a 25 to 50 per cent expansion capability over 10 years.

b. High school: 3,000 students.

c. Middle schools (two): each serving 1,650 students.

d. New railroad station.

e. Regional shopping and office facility: 250,000 square feet.

f. Motel (200 units) and a Continuing Education Center to serve both campuses of Temple University, and school district and community college needs.

g. 1,000 housing units: to be developed for moderate income families under the 'flexible subsidy formula' proposed in the 1968 Housing Act.

h. Parking to serve all facilities."

4. Baltimore, Md.--Tapping Community Resources

"The Briefing Center:

"PROBLEM:
How to permit an urban school to bridge the gap between the reality of life within the city and the theory of formal intellectual activities within the school. Most of the students and many adults in large cities and suburban areas are unaware of the vast educational resources of the inner city. An organized system of physical and programmatic linkages between the schools and such resources is needed.

"STATISTICS:
The city of Baltimore is presently developing proposed linkages between the city schools and the resources of the inner city via a redevelopment project encompassing the Inner Harbor Area. This area (midway between the Charles Center, a redeveloped downtown area to the north, and the South Baltimore Community) is particularly well suited for educational linkages serving the entire Baltimore urban complex because it is:

---adjacent to the intersection of the south leg of the city's planned interstate expressway system which will pass close to the southern edge of the Central Business District.

---the hub of a proposed rapid transit system serving the greater Baltimore area.

---rich, in historical, cultural, educational, commercial/industrial, governmental, recreational, medical, religious centers.

"PROPOSAL:
A supplemental educational facility linking the many resources of the inner city and the greater city and urban areas. This Briefing Center is strategically located:

---near the new elementary, middle school complex being developed for the redeveloped area.

---to be served by a major terminal of the rapid transit system (connecting underground).

---to link physically with most of the major resource centers of the design area.

"Students and adults from the greater Baltimore area can come, individually or in groups of 50 to 75 to the center for briefing and study in one of many fields of interest (historical, cultural, educational, commercial, industrial, governmental, recreational, medical, religious). After briefing, consisting of a variety of audiovisual presentations and viewing of permanent exhibits, the visitors will go on tour of the centers emphasized in the briefing.

"The Briefing Center will be a series of small auditorium-like spaces with audiovisual communications, gallery-like spaces for exhibits, and lounge-like space for discussion groups. The Center's operation will be a combined effort among various city agencies and groups--sponsoring a professional staff from various disciplines and endeavors to prepare exhibits, organize briefings, and conduct tours."

5. Chicago, Ill.--Decentralization

"Cultural-Educational Cluster:

"PROBLEM:
How to structure a long-range educational plan to cope with the backlog of human, physical and fiscal needs of large urban school districts.

"SOLUTION:
The Chicago Board of Education, assisted by the Chicago Public Building Commission, is beginning to implement a long-range development plan for the city schools of Chicago. The recommended plan includes several innovative educational and planning concepts:

"Schomes (school-homes): Research indicates that 50 per cent of a child's way of organizing his thinking pattern, sometimes called his intelligence, is reached by age four. Schomes are recommended for 3 to 6 year-old children of low-income families in concentrated areas. Schomes could be provided through leased space in apartment buildings, remodeled vacant stores or commercial buildings, or new construction. Parent participation is essential to the success of the program.

"Middle Schools: This type of organization groups children by age (11 to 14) rather than by grades. It is designed to meet the frequently frustrating and uniquely complex needs of the adolescent child. School for all children, but especially for the inner-city children, should be a continuum of success, since lack of success leads to rejection of school environment, and often alienation. A no-retention concept is basic to the success of the middle school.

"Magnet Schools: The concept of the magnet school is embodied in the name itself. Special curricula, staff, resources and facilities of the school would act as a magnet to draw children of many differing racial, socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds to a stimulating learning environment, in a setting of willing integration. The first magnet school will be located at the Marine Drive Campus. One of its outstanding attractions will be a communications art center where high-quality programs will be developed in writing, art, music, theater, photography, television and other areas which illumine the child's world and develop his ability to express his sense of wonder and beauty.

"The focus of the magnet school is on experimentation, adoption of selected innovations, evaluation, and diffusion of proven educational improvements to other schools in the city.

"Several other magnet schools have been recommended in the long-range plan. Each would be located in a different part of the city.

"Cultural-Educational Clusters: The innovative concept involved in this cluster provides educational, cultural, recreational and social services to public, private and parochial students and coordinates these programs with other public service institutions (parks, libraries, museums, housing, higher education, social services, highways). Secondary school portions of the cluster are located adjacent to strong transit systems. The cluster includes a planning center which serves as a community service center and articulates the K-12 program for a total area.

"The cluster does not concentrate large numbers of students of widely differing ages on a single site.

"Of prime importance also is the fact that each cluster is different from the others and utilizes the unique resources available within sub-areas of the city.

"The cultural-educational cluster links large groups of students of wide age differences and varying socioeconomic ethnic-racial and religious backgrounds on one or more interrelated sites. It is an 'ameba-like' concept reaching towards all of the cultural-educational-recreational-social-economic resources of the area. The cluster focuses on innovation, experimentation and evaluation of educational change and diffuses tested educational improvements to the total system. Student groups are decentralized within the total site, with shared use of specialized staffs, programs, support services, and facilities.

"A typical cluster would encompass a grid area of approximately nine square miles and contain approximately 15,000 to 20,000 school-age children. All clusters would contain approximately:

16 Elementary Schools
6 Middle Schools
2 Secondary Schools
1 Planning Center

. . . and some clusters would have in addition: a magnet school, various supplemental education centers, and special programs of importance to the area.

"Continuous-Coordinated Planning: If the basic goal of the city is to be achieved, all school planning must be coordinated on a continuing basis with all of Chicago's public and nonpublic agencies.

"For example, the new Crosstown Expressway directly impacts the number, type, racial mix, and location of schools. So do urban renewal decisions, park and library plans, land use and zoning ordinances, parochial school plans, and many other basic planning decisions. If any agency plans in isolation, untold amounts of scarce tax dollars are wasted.

"Decentralized Educational Planning Centers: Education planning centers, located as part of each cultural-educational cluster, are envisioned as one major element in the decentralization of the public schools of Chicago. Each center will assume the responsibility and accountability for diagnostic and preventative educational planning for the students enrolled (preschool, elementary middle schools, secondary schools) within an articulated and 'linked' subsystem or community area. It would serve from 15,000 to 25,000 students together with the parents and patrons of the C.E.C. service area.

"Increasing the Options: Educational patterns for the twenty-first century are dependent upon a large number of economic-political-social-legal variables beyond the clear identification or control of the educational system. Therefore, a quality education plan must be viable and should be carefully designed to increase the options available to students, to parents, and to the Chicago Board of Education.

"The implementation of the recommended long-range educational plan will make a major contribution towards improving the quality of life in Chicago.

". It will reduce the critical backlog of overcrowding and obsolescence in the Chicago schools.

". It will provide a long-range design to guide the school system in its future decision making.

". It will underscore community involvement as imperative for success.

Educational Parks

Plans for educational park development fall into several categories. The first has relevance for small towns from roughly a 5,000 to 20,000 student population. It is a simple plan in which all schools, from elementary through high school, are brought together on one site, utilizing appropriate facilities cooperatively. Children of all social and economic categories are assigned schools and classes according to whatever criteria seems to achieve the greatest educational relevance.

This plan, applicable to large cities, brings together all school classifications into one area of the city as a single park might serve an entire smaller town. Care must be taken to bring about a wide racial and socio-economic mix, otherwise it is not improvement over buildings scattered on the customary separate sites.

A third scheme would bring together all schools at a particular level on a single site. All elementary schools would be pooled together, likewise all junior high schools and all high schools

A final arrangement would ring a city with educational park complexes, each enrolling a full range of pupils from kindergarten through high school. Each center would have its apex in the core city and extend out to the suburban areas.

Size and Ramifications

The size and character of the educational park range widely from a very modest concept to the wildest possible dreams of the innovative minded. The site size is estimated ideally from 50 to 100 acres, although a smaller area could be feasibly utilized. The population of such a facility could range all the way from a total small town school population to a conceivable 30,000 students.

The size of the total facility, and the concentration of school population at the various levels, make possible economies in services as well as degrees of specialization and flexibility not found when schools are located on numerous sites throughout a town or city. The scope and sequence of curricular offerings is much easier correlated than when schools are scattered widely, as they normally are.

Dr. John Fischer discusses the size and character aspect of the educational park as follows:

> ". . . We can begin with certain assumptions about size and character. In order to encompass an attendance area large enough to assure for the long term an enrollment more than 50 per cent white and still include a significant number of Negro students from the inner-city ghetto, the typical park, in most metropolitan areas, would require a total student body (kindergarten to Grade 12) of not less than 15,000. It would thus provide all the school facilities for a part of the metropolitan area with a total population of 80,000 to 120,000. The exact optimum size of a particular park might be as high as 30,000, depending upon the density of urban and suburban population, the prevalence of nonpublic schools, the pattern of industrial, business, and residential zoning, the character of the housing, and the availability of transport. . . .
>
> "The sheer size of the establishment would present obvious opportunities to economize through centralized functions and facilities, but the hazards of over-centralization are formidable. To proceed too quickly or too far down that path would be to sacrifice many of the park's most valuable opportunities for better education.
>
> "Because of its size the park would make possible degrees of specialization, concentration, and flexibility that are obtainable only at exorbitant cost in smaller schools. A center enrolling 16,000 students in a kindergarten-4-4-4 organization, with 1,000-1,300 pupils at each grade level, could efficiently support and staff not only a wide variety of programs for children at every ordinary level or ability, but also highly specialized offerings for those with unusual talents or handicaps.
>
> "Such an institution could operate its own closed circuit television system more effectively, and with lower cable costs than a community-wide system, and with greater attention to the individual teacher's requirements. A central bank of films and tapes could be available for transmission to any classroom, and the whole system controlled by a dialing mechanism that would enable every teacher to 'order' at any time whatever item he wished his class to see.
>
> "The pupil population would be large enough to justify full-time staffs of specialists and the necessary physical facilities to furnish medical, psychological, and counseling services at a level of quality that is now rarely possible. Food service could be provided through central kitchens, short distance delivery, and decentralized dining rooms for the

separate schools.

"The most important educational consequences of the park's unprecedented size would be the real opportunities it would offer for organizing teachers, auxiliary staff, and students. In the hypothetical K-4-4-4 park of 16,000, for example, there would be about 5,000 pupils each in the primary and middle school age groups, or enough at each level for 10 separate schools of 500 pupils.

"Each primary or middle school of that size could be housed in its own building, or its own section of a larger structure with its own faculty of perhaps 25. Such a unit, directed by its own principal, with its own complement of master teachers, 'regular' teachers, interns, assistants, and volunteers, would be the school 'home' of each of its pupils for the 3,4, or 5 years he would spend in it before moving on to the next level of the park. A permanent organization of children and adults of that size employing flexible grouping procedures would make possible working relationships far superior to those now found in most schools. Moreover, since a child whose family moved from one home to another within the large area served by the park would not be required to change schools, one of the principal present handicaps to effective learning in the city schools would be largely eliminated.

"While not every school within the park could offer every specialized curriculum or service, such facilities would be provided in as many units as necessary and children assigned to them temporarily or permanently. Each child and each teacher would 'belong' to his own unit, but access to others would be readily possible at any time.

"The presence on a campus of all school levels and a wide range of administrative and auxiliary services would present the professional staff with opportunities for personal development and advancement which no single school now affords. The ease of communication, for example, among the guidance specialists or mathematics teachers would exceed anything now possible. It would become feasible to organize for each subject or professional specialty a department in which teachers in all parts of the park could hold memberships, in much the way that a university department includes professors from a number of colleges.

"For the first time, a field unit could justify its own research and development branch, a thing not only unheard of but almost unimaginable in most schools today. With such help 'in residence' the faculty of the park could participate in studies of teaching problems and conduct experiments that now are wholly impracticable for even the most competent teachers.

"Much would depend, of course, on the imagination with which the park was organized and administered and how its policies were formed. Since the metropolitan park, by definition, would serve both a central city and one or more suburban districts, its very establishment would be impossible without new forms of intergovernmental cooperation. At least two local school boards would have to share authority, staffs, and funds. The State educational authority and perhaps the legislature would be

> required to sanction the scheme and might have to authorize it in advance. Public opinion and political interests would be deeply involved as would the industrial and real estate establishments of the sponsoring communities. . . ."(8)

Pros and Cons of the Park Concept to Quality Education

Those who question the concept of the educational park are primarily concerned about the impact of size on the quality of education for the children. This concern focuses largely upon the question whether such a large scale operation would diminish the attention which could be devoted to the children's individual needs. Relative to this problem, the Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights makes some positive statements.

> "Educators who have examined this question, however, agree that while the size of the education parks may pose such problems, the parks may make possible new approaches to teaching and learning, difficult to institute in smaller schools, which would provide greater individual attention for each child's needs. . . .
>
> "The education park is seen by some educators as an institution which would offer a wider range of possibilities for individualized instruction through nongraded classes and team teaching than is possible in most existing schools. In a small school it may not be feasible or economical to deal with the special problems or skills of an individual child. In a larger school, where a greater number of children may share the same problem or skill and a larger number of teachers is available, it may be possible to meet the needs of such a child. The larger teaching staff would enable the education park to provide more specialists and teachers with more diverse training and interests to meet the particular needs of children. Rather than being locked into an instructional system which now too often 'stereotypes and segregates,' children would have the opportunity to achieve based on their capacities and needs in particular subject matter areas.
>
> "Educators also have suggested that the education park would enable teachers to devote more attention to the individual needs of children by permitting technological innovations which would not be economical in smaller schools. Computer aids to teaching often are identified as one of the new educational resources which would be made possible in a large institution. . . .
>
> "Indeed, it has been suggested that far from imposing uniformity, education parks, if properly planned, could provide for diversity and in-

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(8) Fischer, John H., "School Parks For Equal Opportunities," The Journal of Negro Education, Volume 37, Summer 1968, pp. 304-306.

> novation in ways not now possible in smaller units. Lortie, for example, points out that parks properly planned with the participation of teachers would afford special opportunities for teachers. There would be greater opportunities for interaction among teachers who are now isolated in small schools from colleagues with the same skills. Facilities could be provided to afford teachers more privacy than they presently enjoy. Bringing teachers with similar training together might allow them more freedom to develop specialized subject matter skills. The education park, it is said, could provide a laboratory for student teachers who would have the opportunity to observe a greater variety of teaching styles than in a conventional school. . . ."(9)

Planning for the Educational Park

The magnitude of an educational park facility precludes a "one-shot" plan and necessitates step-by-step or phase planning. Proposals for such a program involve considerable construction costs, reallocation of facilities, and increased need for transportation.

Robert Lamp, Research Associate in the School Planning Laboratory, Stanford University, suggests two general planning phases for educational park initiation. Both phases need an indepth breakout during the step-by-step planning development.

> "Since the educational park problem is complicated with considerations of esthetic satisfaction along with educational, community, and social utility, a solution in which these various criterions have not been systematically considered will have been arrived at through an oversimplification of the problem.
>
> "The initial activity would be to assess the educational park facility needs of the community, communicate these needs to the community as a whole, and coordinate with local agencies to meet the problem. Master planning for the educational park consists of population projections for the adult as well as the student. This will determine building needs to allow for adequate site size, location of the park in relation to the centers of population, and joint development of the educational park facilities with other local agencies such as urban renewal, parks department, city transportation, etc. A major concern is the purchase of an adequately sized site to anticipate the educational, recreational, and cultural needs of the community. The esthetic impression should be stressed since the educational park would be the heart of the entire community.

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(9) ______________________, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, A Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., pp. 171-174.

> "The second phase would involve planning for the construction of the individual buildings of the park. A careful study of instructional areas should result in sufficient space allocations but not excessive space. This same principle applies to storage space, administrative space, and service areas in the park. Proper planning also will allow for flexible use of space at a given time and rapid conversion of space from one use to another. The flexibility of space would allow for changes in educational program and teaching methods."(10)

Cost estimates for an educational park complex vary greatly. A goodly number of experts agree that the cost, when weighed against other alternatives, is feasible when phased into a district's long range plan.

> "Construction of large new schools obviously would involve a major capital investment. Estimates vary, but a review of existing proposals suggests that the capital costs of building classrooms in education parks may range from an amount roughly equal to the cost of regular classrooms to twice that amount. Pittsburgh estimates that education parks could cost twice as much per pupil as the national average cost of regular classrooms. . . . (Pittsburgh estimates the total cost of its education parks at $75 million. The number of pupils in attendance will be between 22,500 and 27,500. Therefore, the cost per pupil will be approximately $3,000. In Syracuse the figure comes to $1,679 per pupil.)
>
> "On the other hand, Harold Gores, director of the Educational Facilities Laboratory, has written of proposed education parks:
>
> > *"The structure itself would cost less than the conventional ceramic vaults we now build for schools. The experience of New Haven, Conn., in making full use of urban renewal assistance, enabling the city to parlay $13 million of local money into $65 million when State and Federal assistance were applied suggests that the cost of physical plant should lead to economy rather than conventional burden.*
> >
> > *"The cost of the physical facilities can be at or below prevailing rates of per-pupil cost, depending upon the extent to which modern technology in school design is employed. The notion that an education park must have a hundred acres of city land is a reflex action from a suburban syndrome.*
>
> "In any event, at least part of the costs of building an education park would be incurred because of the need to build new classrooms to replace outworn structures and accommodate a growing student population. The U. S. Office of Education has noted that there is a pressing national need for new classrooms. On the basis of statistics collected from the States and local school systems it has estimated that more than 500,000 new classrooms are needed to replace those which presently are inadequate.

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(10) Lamp, Robert G., "Educational Parks for Twentieth Centruy Schools," Educational Digest, January, 1967, p. 24-25.

> "The Syracuse school administration has concluded that traditional scattered school sites in the core city might be more costly than the parks. Population change and possible urban renewal in both the ghetto and business districts have made planning for traditional facilities an uncertain venture. After study, the school authorities decided that the cost of building the campus schools could be borne by the district. Existing facilities will be phased out as the new schools are completed."(11)

The long range plans resulting in an educational park complex must take into account the maximum utilization of existing facilities. With the school population explosion after World War II, school districts have become involved in facility expansion at an unprecedented rate. As a consequence new school construction has followed the exodus of the white population to the mushrooming suburbs. How to utilize the sunk cost of school construction and at the same time develop a total school complex, is a question which befuddles school boards that are convinced the educational park concept has the potential to answer integration and relevant education problems. The Commission on Civil Rights report suggests some ways of solving the existing facilities problem.

> ". . . School systems now exploring the construction of education parks have proposed a number of alternative uses of existing school space. In East Orange, N. J., the school board has decided to sell existing schools as they are replaced with buildings in the new education plaza. This decision was based on a study which concluded that the sale of the buildings could offset substantially the cost of building the new schools. Pittsburgh school officials are considering using existing high schools as middle schools when the high schools are replaced by parks. In New York City, a report to the board of education proposed that education complexes become the first step in the construction of a system of education parks.
>
> "In other cities, it has been suggested that existing schools which are replaced by the education parks could be converted to a variety of new uses. The most common suggestion is conversion to preschool centers in view of increasing interest in and governmental support for preschool programs. Other suggested alternatives include libraries, community and adult education centers, and recreational facilities."(12)

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(11)Op. cit., Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, pp. 177-178.

(12)Ibid., p. 179.

The need for increased transportation and innovative ways of utilizing transportation facilities of various community agencies, must be a definite component of the educational park planning effort. The Commission's report suggests some feasibility aspects of transportation in this context.

> "Another aspect of the feasibility of education parks involves the increased need to transport children which would result from the enlarged attendance areas.
>
> "In 1964, about 15 million public school children traveled to school on school-leased or owned carriers each school day. This figure represents about 40 percent of the Nation's total school enrollment and does not include children who use nonschool public transportation. In four of the Nation's largest cities between 15 and 30 percent of the total school enrollment uses public transit facilities.
>
> "In view of the widespread practice of transporting students to school, school systems long since have taken measures to assure the greatest possible safety. The problems related to student transportation are largely logistical. In a paper prepared for the Commission, Paul Davidoff, Chairman of the Department of City Planning at Hunter College in New York City, studied the feasibility of establishing desegregated education park sites in the Philadelphia Metropolitan Area, one of the Nation's largest metropolitan regions. The study revealed there are many locations in the area where city Negroes and suburban whites could attend education parks together with relatively little travel time. The report indicated that travel time for most students could be limited to less than 40 minutes.
>
> "The cost of transportation obviously is a factor in the feasibility of education park plans. The cost would depend in part upon the availability of mass transportation. Some proposals suggest one possibility of coordinating plans for education parks with plans for the development or improvement of mass transit systems. Pittsburgh has taken such an approach to rapid mass transit and education park site location. Berkeley, Calif., too, has asked representatives from local transit authorities to participate in the planning of their parks."(13)

Selected Educational Park Programs

1. Northeast Bronx Educational Park - New York, N. Y.

Location

This park is planned for a giant new housing project, Coop City which has been erected on the site of Freedomland, a former amusement park in the Bronx borough of New York City. The site is ideally located for an experiment with educational park concept for several reasons:

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(13) Ibid., pp. 180-181.

". . . In the first place, the area now has no schools, and the new development will require several. Secondly, land at the outskirts of the city is relatively inexpensive, and part of the school site will be donated by the United Housing Federation. Finally, the pupil racial mix will probably correspond to the formula suggested by the former Commissioner of Education. Two-thirds of the pupils will be drawn from Coop City, which will be 10 to 25 percent Negro. In addition, the park will serve two neighborhoods largely populated by Negroes--one a middle-class community, the other a low-rent housing area."(14)

Advantages of Economy and Enrichment

The Northeast Bronx Educational Park planning suggests the following advantages in economy and enrichment of services;

"1. *Lower Costs*. Many planners hope the educational park will provide 'more bang for the buck.' It offers the advantage of large-scale production and the use of identical facilities, such as auditoriums, gymnasiums, and athletic fields. What is more, its innovative features may attract federal funds, no mean consideration for a city whose expenses tend to top its revenues.

"2. *Shared Facilities*. 'Sharing the wealth' means extra facilities for each school in a park. A single intermediate school, for example, may have one music room. By the same token, three schools of this kind in a park would have three music rooms. Instead of being designed as all-purpose music rooms, as in the typical school, these rooms could be planned for activities involving voice, woodwind, and brass instruments respectively. This kind of specialization provides better services at no extra cost. The size of the complex could also justify such special facilities as remedial reading centers, swimming pools, music centers, and museums.

"3. *Saturation of Services*. A large ocean liner is likely to have at least one doctor on board; a small tramp steamer, none. The same holds true for a large-scale educational establishment as well. An individual school may have a dental room open one or two days a week; some have none at all. An organization as large as an educational park would probably have a dental room operating five days a week. This room would use less space and offer better services at less cost than in conventional schools. The same would also apply to other specialized areas, such as guidance services. This, in turn may offer better services to exceptional children (those with special abilities or disabilities) within the complex.

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(14) Shaw, Frederick, "The Educational Park in New York: Archetype of the School of the Future," Phi Delta Kappan, February, 1969, p. 330.

"4. *Additional Offerings*. The typical junior high school offers its pupils a choice of two languages. The presence of larger numbers of children in an educational park permits it to schedule more courses. It could readily organize classes, for example, in three or four foreign languages. Indeed, it could also offer a more complete range of courses in special curriculum areas. Possibly more important than added course offerings may be enhanced opportunities for educational experimentation and innovation. The educational park's superior physical facilities and flexible large-scale organization readily lend themselves to the development of new methods and techniques in such areas as closed circuit TV, automated equipment, and programmed instruction.

"5. *Stability of Population*. Research on the city's schools has disclosed a high turnover of pupils in some sections of the city. These children shift from neighborhood to neighborhood disrupting their own schooling as well as the education of their less-traveled classmates. Drawing pupils from a larger area eliminates many inter-school pupil transfers that would occur in conventional schools.

"6. *A Superior Teaching Corps*. The advantages we have mentioned above are said to enhance the chances of attracting and holding a top-notch faculty. With richer instructional materials, superior physical equipment, and improved supportive services, good teachers may welcome assignments in these complexes. Some educators believe the teachers' status and self-image will be improved in an atmosphere of educational experimentation and innovation.

"7. *Improved Community Services*. Many of the physical and educational facilities we have mentioned would become available for the general community served by the park. These facilities may make the park a real center of year-round community activities."(15)

2. East Side Union High School District - San Jose, California

Location

The district lies in the northeast section of Santa Clara County, approximately 50 miles south of San Francisco. There are 150,000 people living in the area which is 20 miles long and six to eight miles wide. The economy, once almost exclusively agricultural is fast becoming industrial with all the problems growing out of urban-ization. Consultants, employed in June, 1968, studied three potential sites and recommended one which is now being acquired by the district.

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(15) Ibid., pp. 330-331.

> ". . . The site exceeds 100 acres in size as is located within relatively easy access of residents of the low-income neighborhood. . . . It adjoins a 30-acre city park which will include a lake and an amphitheater, and a nine-acre parcel on which the county will build health facilities to include public health, mental health, and medical clinic units. . . ."(16)

Components of the park concept

The San Jose leadership, both educational and civic, envision the park as being a multi-agency center including educational, recreational, cultural, and social services components.

> "Considerable interest has also been demonstrated in locating a child care center, a senior citizens center, a youth employment office, and a Junior Achievement center in the park. In addition, the adult education program and a number of youth agencies have indicated that the park would be ideal for portions of their programs.
>
> "The educational component will consist of a major secondary education facility to be built in incremental steps for an eventual enrollment of 5,000 students. The possibility of including an elementary school is currently under study. The high school will serve a defined attendance area which will yield a heterogeneous student body. Ethnic ratios will be close to district-wide ratios. The location of the park virtually guarantees that ethnic balances in present schools will be improved. It is hoped that scheduling and transportation arrangements can be made to permit students in other District schools to enroll in special programs available in the park."(17)

Economies of the "Park" over traditional educational units

Consultants for the San Jose district believe definite economies will accrue from a full commitment to the educational park concept. These economies are in agreement with those attributed to the plan elsewhere.

> "The economies realized through largeness of scale in the park will make it possible to utilize the most modern and sophisticated instructional equipment. The hardware needed for

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(16)Jensen, Henry C., "A Time for Boldness," Journal of Secondary Education, January 1969, p. 33.

(17)Ibid., pp. 33-34.

> computer-assisted instruction, dial access and resource centers can be purchased with moneys saved through more efficient scheduling of specialized facilities such as science laboratories and music rooms. It is conceivable, for example, that the construction of large general purpose labs at the center of a cluster of science rooms could reduce expenditures for lab equipment to as little as 50% of that needed for conventional labs in three separate schools."(18)

Implementation

The first units of the San Jose educational park will not be ready for occupancy until the fall of 1971. Additional units will be added as enrollments increase. The ultimate enrollment is estimated at 5,000 students by early 1980.

3. Syracuse, New York

The Syracuse multi-school campus plan concentrates on pulling together all elementary schools on four sites around the periphery of the city. The land to be used will be city-owned and other property which can be acquired at relatively low cost.

> ". . . The plan would thus avoid wiping out part of a prosperous tax base, as happens when homes and shops are razed to build a neighborhood school, and would permit a great saving in original capital costs. Each of the four sites would be designed to accommodate between 4,000 and 4,300 pupils. As part of the proposal, all 31 existing elementary schools in the city, beginning with the oldest, would eventually be closed."(19)

Considered solution to complex urban educational problems

It is anticipated that the plan outlined will overcome a number of problems which are relevant to many school districts across the country.

> "The proposed campus plan offers hope for the solution of several complex problems in urban education not unique to Syracuse. Many cities have obsolete schools and must replace them. They face problems of locating new school sites and creating new attendance areas out of small, inefficient neighborhood schools. They must

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(18) Ibid., p. 34.

(19) Sine, David F., Max Wolff, and Lucile Lindberg, "Educational Parks," NEA Journal, March 1968, p. 44.

> replace unattractive, inadequate schools with schools and educational programs that will attract families rather than drive them away to the suburbs.
>
> "In preparation for building a modest-sized junior high school, Syracuse recently spent over $450,000 for land acquisition and demolition of existing structures--nearly half a million dollars before ground was ever broken! Acquisition costs for inner-city school expansion in Syracuse have been as high as $165,000 an acre. By contrast, on land *annexed* by the city, the cost of a plot for a new senior high school was $3,600 an acre. Thus the 'Campus Site' proposal, with its plan for acquiring land near the city limits, would make it economically feasible for Syracuse to provide the kind of school that will attract rather than repel concerned parents.
>
> "Another problem endemic to urban education is the potential instability of any neighborhood and the consequent implications for the neighborhood school. Urban renewal projects, for example, sometimes end up in new apartment construction and a sudden influx of children and sometimes in freeway construction that permanently depopulates the neighborhood. Under these conditions, it is impossible to predict that an expensive new neighborhood school will not be seriously underpopulated and seriously overcrowded several times during its life span. The campus school, on the other hand, would be relatively unaffected by changes in individual neighborhoods.
>
> "Still another serious problem in urban education is racial imbalance or isolation. The elementary school enrollment in Syracuse is about 22 percent nonwhite. Yet, in this decade, some Syracuse schools have jumped from less than 20 percent nonwhite enrollment to more than 60 percent--a trend that tends to be irreversible in individual neighborhood schools. The campus plan would prevent the otherwise inevitable creation of de facto segregated schools. . . ."(20)

4. Great High Schools - Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Location

Pittsburg has planned the "re-utilization" of their 22 secondary schools and the implementation of five "Great High Schools" which will be deployed throughout the city. Each will have a population of over 5,000 students.

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(20) Ibid., p. 45-46.

> ". . . They will be the high schools, all at once for the entire city. They will become the education centers of subcommunities of middle schools, elementary schools, and pre-primary schools. They will each occupy a site of 40 acres or more, and will be designed for year-round usage and for day and night offerings. They will be comprehensive schools, serving the swift and the slow, the handicapped and the gifted. They will offer a broad range of vocational-technical programs as well as college preparatory and advanced placement classes. Curricular scale should make any program feasible, whether it be four years of Mandarin Chinese, or work-study experience in warehousing or service occupations for the very limited student who would otherwise be a dropout. . . ."(21)

The five high schools will serve subcommunities of approximately 100,000 to 150,000 people.

Re-utilization of present facilities

> ". . . The present high schools will be modernized where appropriate and established as *middle schools*, serving grades five through eight, or six through eight. Since they will be completely redistricted as middle schools, significant improvements in racial integration will be possible. Correspondingly, the removal of upper grades from existing elementary schools afforded by the middle schools will permit the closing of a number of elementary schools and corresponding opportunities for modifying district lines toward improved integration.
>
> "The park concept emerges as the radiating network of streets and greenways become tangible, all focusing on the Great High School. The child in the remote neighborhood, who may be attending pre-primary school in what was formerly a fine residence, now remodeled, will ultimately walk along a park-like former street, now planted and closed to traffic, as he moves up to his nearby elementary school. From the elementary school, a corresponding greenway or regulated pedestrian route takes him to his middle school (or perhaps he goes by bus or rapid transit), along newly recovered city corridors. Finally, from the middle school, of which there will be three or four supporting each Great High School, there will again be greenways and traffic routes leading into the nucleus. The Great High School becomes the central theme, or symbol, giving visible testimony to the message of education, as young people travel through what may be the inner city's ugliness to the brightness and hope that education can offer. . . ."(22)

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(21) Harland, S. P., Jr., "The Educational Park Concept in Pittsburgh," Phi Delta Kappan, March, 1967, p. 330.

(22) Ibid., p. 331.

The "House" Plan

The "House" plan is sometimes called a school within a school, or little-school plan. Such plans allow the Educational Park concept to be utilized and, at the same time, providing social-personal dimension found in small schools. Under such a plan the school system is concentrated in one or more large complexes which might serve 2,000 to 20,000 students. Within each complex are several "houses," or small schools, with their own unique identity, and including personnel and guidance services, eating facilities, and faculty. The teaching and learning functions are organized into subject-area departments encompassing the entire complex.

Pittsburgh's Great High Schools is one of the best examples of the 'house' plan. An explanation of the organization of this concept is as follows:

> "If a school system wants to provide the absolute in integration, it should operate but one school. Two schools, properly managed, would be an improvement on three. At some point in planning, a decision has to be made as to the number of schools that seems to have the best chance of achieving the stated objectives. After much study by staff and consultants, we in Pittsburgh have elected to build five.
>
> "It was also decided that our pupils would best be served in two-dimensional high schools. The first dimension would provide for the social-personal development of pupils. This function will be accommodated in a Student Center, with spaces designed to serve the out-of-classroom requirements of individual students, such as guidance and counseling, independent study, personal storage, and dining. The Student Center will be perhaps the most innovative feature of the Great High School. While physically separate, it will be related to the vast spaces provided for the second dimension --the classroom teaching-learning function. It was further decided that for the social-personal dimension, with its heavy overlay of guidance, the school would be organized into four separate houses. The teaching-learning dimension, on the other hand, would be organized into subject-area departments. In other words, all pupils, regardless of the house to which they belong, will report to a single Department of English, which will serve all four houses. The alternative to this plan would have been to provide separate instructional facilities and faculties for each of the four houses, which, in fact, would have meant building four complete schools on one campus.
>
> "It was our concern for the individual pupil that led us to the social-personal dimension and the house plan. Many of us who have worked for years with inner-city youth would agree that the social-personal development of such pupils may be even more important to their future fulfillment as adults than is their mastery of subject matter. We were also concerned with the

effect of the size of school and the large numbers of teachers and pupils on certain individual pupils who, even in smaller schools, tend to become quite anonymous. The house plan is intended to minimize this probability.

"Each house will be organized around an advisory unit of about thirty-five pupils, one-fourth of whom will be drawn from each grade level. As eight or nine seniors graduate, they will be replaced by an equal number of ninth-graders. Each advisory unit will be a microcosm of the total school population as to race, sex, ethnic background, abilities, etc. An advisory unit will be in the charge of a teacher-adviser, whose office will be located in his advisory group's space in the Student Center.

"Ten advisory groups will compose a counseling group of approximately 350 pupils, to be served by a full-time counselor and supporting clerical staff. The counselor's office will be central to the location of the ten advisory groups he serves.

"A house will comprise four counseling groups, one-fourth of the total school population. A dean will be the senior officer in charge. Each house will provide for a widening circle of group associations, from a one-to-one relationship with some thirty-five pupils in the advisory group, to 350 in the counseling group, to 1,400 in each house, and finally to the total school community.

"Each house will provide its own social and political activities, such as production of a house newspaper, plays, musical events, intramural sports events in competition with other house teams, and election of student officers. Each house will become, in essence, a smaller high school concerned primarily with the social-personal development of 25 per cent of the Great High School enrollment.

"The teaching-learning functions of the Great High School will be organized by departments into fifteen instruction centers. They are, alphabetically: Art, Business Education, English, Foreign Language, Mathematics, Music, Performing Arts, Personal Services, Physical Education, Resource Materials Center (Library), Science, Social Studies, Special Education for the Retarded, Technology, and Visual Communications.

"The educational specifications provided for custom-designed spaces and equipment to serve the unique needs of each department. The Art Center, with its areas for sculpture, graphics, painting, ceramics, etc., will be quite different from the Social Studies Center, with its seminar rooms, movable walls for flexible spacing, and its rear-screen projection units. And both will be different from the Technology Center, with its 45,000 square-foot space to accommodate instruction in whatever courses are needed to supply trained personnel for the current demands of business and industry.

"Each department will have its own satellite resource center, a teaching materials preparation room, a department head's office, and conference rooms.

> "The Resource Materials Center constitutes the academic nerve center of the entire school. It comprises the library and its modern complement--the multimedia section, with communications control and distribution station, television studio, listening area, previewing rooms, and recording booths.
>
> "In estimating the total enrollments of each of the Great High Schools, we have used a range of from 5,000-6,000 pupils. The 1,000 differential derives from an estimate of the use of the public high schools by the Catholic Diocesan School System. Firm commitments have been made by the Superintendent of the Catholic Schools to schedule approximately 1,000 pupils into each of the Great High Schools on a part-time basis. Some of these pupils will spend as much as a half day, every day, in the public school. Heavy enrollments are expected in foreign languages, advanced placement courses in science and mathematics, in physical education, the vocational-technical courses, and the arts. Parochial pupils will commingle with public school pupils. The problems of scheduling, even of the modular type, do not appear insurmountable, since each school will control the operation of its own computerized scheduling program. Part-time enrollment of parochial pupils is welcomed by the public schools as a significant opportunity to enhance the values of school-community integration and to maintain the racial balance in the public high schools.
>
> "The Great High Schools will be open day and night, all week, twelve months of the year. In the evenings, they will be open for adults to take credit and noncredit extension courses, for Manpower Development Training, for hobby groups, and recreation. The performing arts center should attract amateur groups interested in music and drama. The auditorium and conference rooms will serve large and small community meetings.
>
> "If all goes well, the first high school will open in September, 1972. The others will follow at six-month intervals. . . .
>
> "From the beginning of our planning, we visualized the Great High School as much more than a superb secondary school. We saw it as the nucleus of an education park, relating physically to its feeder middle schools, and they to their elementary and pre-primary schools. We saw it as the hub of massive urban renewal efforts, and we saw it, most of all, as the symbol of the power of education to elevate the minds of men."(23)

A somewhat different utilization of the house plan, within a large educational complex, is found in Baltimore. Under this plan students are scheduled into houses according to multi-grade levels. Each house is composed of three grades.

> "In arranging the clusters within the park, we were guided by the need to keep the scale intimate, to provide for some separation among age groups, and to encourage a school organization in which the children could relate to a building and area within the park that would serve as their 'home turf.'

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(23) Ibid., Toffler, Alvin, pp. 203-206.

"Because of its size--6,000 students--the prekindergarten-through-ninth-grade park in Baltimore offered the possibility of multigrading--the division of the children into three-year age levels, with each level located in a separate area of the park. One possibility would be to create five 'houses' within the park, organized around the following age groups and enrollments and featuring nongrading, as the following table indicates:

House	Age Level	Enrollment
A	4-5-6	800
B	6-7-8	1,300
C	8-9-10	1,300
D	10-11-12	1,300
E	12-13-14	1-300
		6,000

"As the table suggests, this age division should be flexible; children aged six, eight, ten, and twelve could be assigned to the next higher house if that should seem best for their individual needs. An eight-year-old in House B, for instance, could be assigned to House C.

"Under the terms of this plan, each house can be subdivided into still smaller units with which the children can achieve their primary identity. House A contains 16 units of 50 children each; House B, 10 units of 130 children each; House C, 10 units of 130 children each; House D, 5 units of 260 students each; and House E, 5 units of 260 students each. This organization reflects the size and complexity of the child's environment as he advances from house to house.

"This organization translates into space relationships. House A, designed for the four-to-six-year-olds, receives more space per child than any of the other houses. Its buildings would be low density, with self-contained play areas and open space, a separate entrance-way, and sixteen school units. House B, for the six- to eight-year-olds, overlooks the downtown area, and is more densely developed--ten units, each containing 130 children. It, too, is self-contained, with play terraces for each unit.

"With the exception of some assembly functions and specialized service programs for individual students, the children in House B would spend most of their time, including their lunch period, in the house. It is assumed that food would be centrally prepared but delivered to each house. House C generally duplicates the density and downtown view of House B, although it is anticipated that at this age (eight to ten), the child would begin to leave the house under an individualized curriculum that would take him to some of the specialized facilities of the park. In houses D and E, the density increases to five units of 260 students each. Here the children would be from ten to fourteen years old and very mobile. These children would be too old to rely on play terraces for physical education, but would walk via a protected pedestrian mall to a nearby, four-acre playing field, made available in the Inner Harbor Project. They would also spend considerable time in specialized facilities, such as the library, shops, and language and science laboratories.

> "The generalized site plan translates the suggested organization and spatial relationships of the five houses into proposed buildings. The building module is reflected in decks and terraces along the outer perimeter of the park. The principal physical link uniting the various park elements is a school street, designed for pedestrians only and providing access to all facilities and houses. The park has five controllable entrances, which offer separate access for each grade grouping and for over-all park security. Parking for 500 cars is provided in a structure beneath one of the elevated highway lanes.
>
> "At the very heart of the proposed model are the consolidated facilities and services that have traditionally been among the biggest theoretical advantages of the park. One of our principal assignments in Baltimore was to determine how great these advantages are. Specifically, we were to contrast the park model with its equivalent in five scattered-site elementary schools and one junior high school, using as a control group current educational specifications for an 800-pupil elementary school and a 2,000-pupil junior high school.
>
> "We concluded that the park plan in Baltimore could achieve significant increases in space utilization, as well as subsequent space reductions in food-preparation and assembly areas. . . ."(24)

The Educational Facilities Laboratories has developed a "House" plan design for a small high school complex of approximately 2,000 students. The intent of this design is to overcome the social tensions which beset most, if not all, school districts:

> "The comprehensive high school suggested here seeks to resolve some of these tensions in a productive synthesis. It is designed for about 2,000 students, big enough to provide the expensive facilities and the scarce talents needed for a solid program of studies, but arranged to counteract the disadvantages of bigness. Serving diverse social and scholastic needs--from advanced calculus to household management--the organization and physical plan of the school are intended to discourage academic and social separateness and snobbishness.
>
> "The school is divided into four 500-student 'houses' to give each student and faculty member a sense of community and identity. Each house is composed of a vertical cross section of the student body, from first through last year, and represents a full range of ability, achievement, and aspiration.

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(24) Ibid., Toffler, Alvin, pp. 214-216.

> "But the key purpose of the plan is social and psychological, rather than academic. The idea is for each house to develop its own personality and atmosphere, in order to strengthen social relationships, emphasize activities on a human scale, encourage a sense of identity and the kind of group loyalty that helps children toward achievement and success. Now that competition is no longer a swearword in the best academic circles, there could be healthy inter-house contests in sports and in intellectual and co-curricular pursuits. . . ."(25)

School-Within-A-School - Topeka Plan

Topeka West High School was opened in 1961 utilizing the School-Within-A-School plan. The report on the Topeka plan is the most comprehensive, relative to this particular organizational concept, that the literature provides.

The school organization:

> "In establishing the new high school, attendance boundary lines were determined on the basis of the capacity of existing high schools and the geographical proximity of students in relation to both the old and the new schools. No attempt was made to identify a special group of any kind to serve as the student body for Topeka West. Rather, the most logical divisions were determined on the basis of maps showing where high school age students lived within the community and attendance boundaries were set accordingly. The student body, thus, comprises a cross section of abilities, socio-economic levels, and backgrounds. The mean income within the Topeka West district is somewhat higher than that of the city at large; nevertheless, all segments of the community's society are represented in the student body.
>
> "The new high school as it is described in this publication is organized on the 'schools-within-a-school' plan. Three subdivisions which are frequently called, 'houses' or 'little schools' have been established with a cross section of one-third of the students being assigned to each unit. Grades 10, 11, 12 are included in this senior high school and all three grades have one-third of their number assigned to each 'house.' No attempt has been made to establish one of the subdivisions for students of high ability, but a deliberate effort is made each year to have each 'little school' be a truly randomly-selected cross section of the entire student body.
>
> "Topeka West High School was designed architecturally in a campus-style with eight separate buildings. The buildings and the nature of each are listed as follows:
>
> 1. Auditorium, administration, art, music, industrial arts and home economics
> 2. Library

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(25) Gross, Ronald, and Judith Murphy, Educational Change and Architectural Consequences, A Report from the Educational Facilities Laboratories, New York, 1968, p. 69.

3. Cafeteria
4. Science
5. Gymnasium and health services
6., 7., 8. Three 'little schools'

> "Administratively the school is supervised by the principal and he is assisted by three 'sub-principals' each of whom is responsible for one 'little school,' one-third of the student body and a segment of the teaching staff. At Topeka West the three 'little school' principals have the title of Counselor-Director. Each Counselor-Director is assisted by a woman counselor, a full-time secretary and a team of eight to twelve teachers.
>
> "Students are assigned to one of the 'little schools' when they enter grade 10 and they remain with that unit for their three years of senior high school. A student identifies with his 'little school' unit through the guidance services and in addition is enrolled in part of his curriculum within his own 'house.'
>
> "Each of the 'little schools' contains a guidance complex, eight classrooms and a large classroom for team and large class teaching.
>
> "Provisions for small group instruction and independent study have been incorporated into the design of the library and the science facilities.
>
> "In essence the 'schools-within-a-school' concept at Topeka West High School has been implemented in order to obtain both quality and quantity in the educational program of the school."(26)

Purpose - Recognizing the Individual Needs of the Student:

The planners of the Topeka program recognized that the trend in secondary school organization is toward larger complexes to provide economic cost-effectiveness as well as an acceptable ethnic and social mix. The trick, as they saw it, was to achieve the values of the large complex without sacrificing the individual identity of the child.

> "The major purpose of the 'schools-within-a-school' organization which has been existent in an embryo fashion in some scattered parts of the nation for about a quarter of a century and is now receiving widespread attention is to achieve both quality and quantity in the instructional program. Without a doubt, the large junior and senior high school is 'here to stay' in the United States. But these modern, sprawling institutions for secondary education increasingly run the risk of becoming faceless factories which can accommodate vast numbers of students but cannot remain sensitive to individual human beings. It is the effort to provide schools which are not merely teem-

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(26) Ramsey, Robert D., and others, The Schools-Within-A-School Program, Parker Publishing Company, Inc., West Nyack, New York, 1967, pp. v-vi.

> ing corrals for teen-agers, but *schools capable of dealing with individual personalities* that is bringing the 'schools-within-a-school' concept increasing popularity. Very briefly stated, this concept involves the subdivision of a large student body into smaller groups for the purposes of instruction and guidance. The basic theory of this organization implies that a team of teachers together with specialized guidance personnel can come to 'know' a smaller group of perhaps 450 students far more intimately than a large group ranging from 1,200 to 2,000 or 3,000 students. . . .
>
> "The 'schools-within-a-school' concept rejects a rigid, assembly-line approach to education and permits the modern urban comprehensive secondary school to conduct a meaningful and personal program of instruction for each student. The plan discussed herein is applicable and adaptable to any school setting, curricular organization, or physical plant, and is already in operation in a number of junior and senior high schools throughout the nation. Thus, this type of organization merits the attention and consideration of all teachers, administrators, school board members, and lay citizens who are concerned with the improvement of secondary education. . . ."(27)

Construction Cost:

The cost of construction of the Topeka School-Within-A-School, although somewhat dated in relation to present school costs and reflecting expenditures peculiar to mid-western states, did compare favorably to conventional secondary construction.

> "In the initial stage of construction the school was designed for a capacity of 900 students. The gross area of the original seven buildings was 128,764 square feet and the total of all contracts was $1,973,076. The square foot cost for construction was $15.48. These cost figures did include such items as site development, the relocation of a water main, area lighting for a parking lot, stage lighting for the auditorium, electronic folding doors in the gymnasium, student lockers and the heating plant which was designed with extra capacity to serve future school expansion. If these items are omitted, the cost per square foot was $14.07. As is always the case in school construction, the architect and planning committee necessarily focused on high quality materials as well as a creative design for the educational program.
>
> "In any event, these cost figures compared favorably to the cost of other more traditionally designed schools. In 1956, the unit costs for another nearby Kansas High School of similar size including construction, built-in equipment, and grounds was $15.98 per square foot. The bids for Topeka West High School were let in 1958. Taking into account the normal inflationary increase of costs, the reader should be able to ascertain that the plant design of Topeka West High School did not involve unreasonable cost

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(27) Ibid., Ramsey, pp. vii-viii.

figures. While the design of Topeka West High School was not conventional, it nevertheless was not a plush school with unnecessary frills and decorations. In reality, considerable effort was made to provide a purely functional school with adequate educational space for the planned instructional program. . . ."(28)

Common Characteristics of the "house plan":

"The 'house plan' has various adaptations, but certain common elements are usually apparent wherever it is in use:

"1. That part of the curriculum classified as general education is usually provided for in the separate 'little school' units. This means that such subjects as English, social studies, mathematics, and in the case of Topeka West High School, typing, are housed and taught in the 'little school' setting.

"2. More specialized instruction such as art, music, physical education and industrial arts is provided for in separate facilities and shared by the 'little schools.'

"3. Specialized guidance and counseling services are decentralized with offices for these services being provided in close geographic proximity to the 'little school' unit. At Topeka West High School, the guidance-trained Counselor-Director in charge of each unit has working with him a part-time woman counselor and a team of eight to ten teachers. This 'little school' team has primary responsibility for guidance and instruction of the 450 students assigned to their subdivision of the school.

"4. The architectural design of many of the new buildings employing the 'little school' plan of organization is quite often of the campus type. The study committee of Topeka West High School raised many questions relating to the campus-style school. The Educational Consultant indicated that the campus plan enables architects to make more efficient use of the total space available for purposes of instruction. For example, many compact buildings and especially multi-story buildings use about 60 to 65 percent of the gross area for instructional purposes and the rest for stairways, corridors, restrooms, wall thicknesses, etc. The campus plan, on the other hand, might well provide up to 70 to 75 percent of the total area for instructional purposes. There would be no loss of space for stairways and much less loss of space for corridors than in conventional buildings."(29)

Focus on the Individual Student:

"It has been the observation that as a high school increases in size, the effectiveness of the school in relating to the individual student is inversely affected. The theory behind the 'little school' plan is that a team of staff members can become more intimately associated and educationally effective with a group of 400 to 600 than with a larger number, such as 1500 to 2000. This approach, it is believed, brings a new focus on the worth of the individual. It enables the comprehensive high school to have the advantages of being large and small at the same time--to have both quality and quantity in the educational program."(30)

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(28)Ibid., p. 2.

(29)Ibid., Ramsey, p. 6.

Advantages of the "house plan" summarized:

"1. Teachers may discuss in small groups problems that concern their own little school.

"2. Teachers can work together more closely on individual problems of students.

"3. Group guidance activities can be better integrated.

"4. A feeling of belongingness on the part of each boy and girl may be developed even in a very large high school.

"5. More cooperative planning of learning activities can be conducted.

"6. Many traffic problems can be eliminated through careful location of the little schools in the buildings. . . .

"7. Closer relationships are established between the supervisor and the staff.

"8. Teachers who work together with a limited number of students become better acquainted with individual student needs and interests.

"9. There are more opportunities for student participation in activities.

"10. There are more opportunities for students at all grade levels to participate in school life.

"11. In the unit which includes all three grades, the seventh-grade student may profit by the example of the more mature student and the ninth-grade student has increased opportunities to assume leadership roles.

"12. The unit organization retains all the advantages of the large school in terms of services and all-school organization."(31)

Present Status of the School-Within-A-School Organizational Plan:

"Within the last decade a growing number of secondary schools across the nation have adopted some form of "schools-within-a-school" organization. The details of the organization and program of operation are as varied as the number of schools involved. Some select schools such as Evanston Township, Evanston, Illinois, which have had a 'house plan' of operation for ten years or more are still in the process of developing and refining the specifics of their particular adaptation of the 'little school' concept. Evanston, for example, in 1966 had an enrollment of 4500 student, subdivided into four semi-autonomous 'little school' units. . . .

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(30) Ibid., p. 7.

(31) Ibid., Summary, p. 9.

"The following list of schools from various geographic sections of the country which have experimented with some form of 'little school' organization may be helpful to the administrator interested in gathering further information about this approach:

Location	School
"Azusa, California	Azusa High School
Azusa, California	Citrus Union High School
Bellflower, California	Bellflower High School
Bellflower, California	Mayfair High School
Carmichael, California	San Juan Unified School District
Escondido, California	Escondido High School
Glendora, California	Glendora High School
San Diego, California	Samuel Gompers Junior High School
Fairfield, Connecticut	Andrew Warde High School
Fairfield, Connecticut	Roger Ludlow High School
Groton, Connecticut	Senior High School
Old Saybrook, Connecticut	Junior-Senior High School
Atlanta, Georgia	William A. Bass High School
Decatur, Georgia	Southwest Dekalb High School
Blue Island, Illinois	Blue Island High School
Des Plaines, Illinois	Maine West High School
Evanston, Illinois	Evanston Township High School
Glenview, Illinois	Glenbrook South High School
Joliet, Illinois	Joliet Township High School East
Joliet, Illinois	Joliet Township High School West
Skokie, Illinois	Niles North High School
Indianapolis, Indiana	North Central High School
Newton, Kansas	Newton Junior High School
Topeka, Kansas	Jardine Junior High School
Topeka, Kansas	Topeka West High School
Topeka, Kansas	Highland Park High School
Baltimore, Maryland	Junior High School
Frederick, Maryland	Frederick County High School
Prince Frederick, Maryland	Calvert County High School
Washington County, Maryland	Boonsboro High School
Washington County, Maryland	Hancock High School
Washington County, Maryland	North Hagerstown High School
Washington County, Maryland	South Hagerstown High School
Brookline, Massachusetts	Brookline High School
Newton, Massachusetts	Newton High School
Newton, Massachusetts	Newton South High School
Detroit, Michigan	Eastern High School
Flint, Michigan	Longfellow Community Junior High School
Flint, Michigan	Bryant Community Junior High School

Flint, Michigan	Southwestern Community High School
Kalamazoo, Michigan	Loy Norrix High School
Madison Heights, Michigan	Lamphere Senior High School
Muskegon, Michigan	Muskegon High School
Royal Oak, Michigan	Clarence Kimball High School
Traverse City, Michigan	Traverse City High School
Edina, Minnesota	Edina-Morningside High School
Wayzata, Minnesota	Wayzata Senior High School
Riverview Gardens, Missouri	Riverview Gardens High School
Hampton, New Hampshire	Winnacunnet High School
Beacon, New York	Beacon High School
Ithaca, New York	Ithaca High School
Plainview, Long Island, New York	Plainview Junior High School
Massena, New York	Massena Junior-Senior High School
New York, New York	Forest Hills High School
Niskayuna, New York	Van Antwerp Junior High School
North Colonie, New York	North Colonie High School
Rochester, New York	Gates Chili Central School District
Scarsdale, New York	Scarsdale Junior High School
Syosset, New York	Syosset High School
White Plains, New York	White Plains Senior High School
Charlotte, North Carolina	Ashley Park Junior High School
Charlotte, North Carolina	Garinger High School
Brecksville, Ohio	Brecksville High School
Cleveland Heights, Ohio	Heights High School
Kettering, Ohio	Fairmont High School
Newark, Ohio	Newark High School
Tulsa, Oklahoma	Woodrow Wilson Junior High School
Ardmore, Pennsylvania	Ardmore Junior High School
Ardmore, Pennsylvania	Lower Merion Junior High School
Fallsington, Pennsylvania	Pennsbury High School
Cayce, South Carolina	Cayce High School
Columbia, South Carolina	A. C. Flora High School
Williamston, South Carolina	Palmetto High School
Johnson City, Tennessee	Johnson City High School
Cleburne, Texas	Cleburne High School
San Angelo, Texas	San Angelo High School
Tyler, Texas	J. B. Moore Junior High School
Roanoke, Virginia	Patrick Henry High School
Roanoke, Virginia	William Fleming High School
Edmonds, Washington	Edmonds High School
Tacoma, Washington	Clover Park Schools
Tacoma, Washington	Mount Tahoma High School
Fond du Lac, Wisconsin	Goodrich High School"(32)

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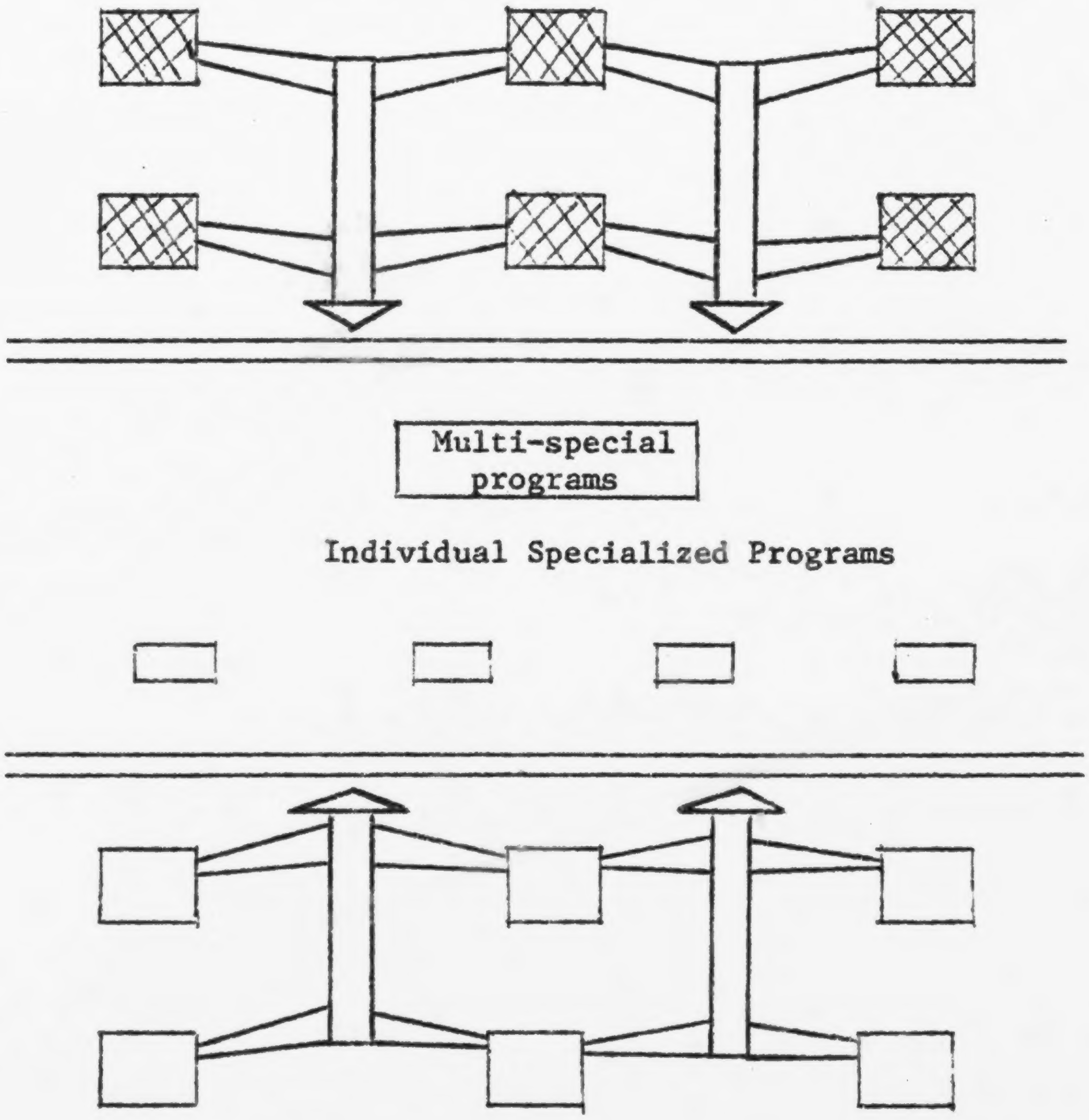
(32) Ibid., Ramsey, pp. 224-227.

Magnet Schools And Supplementary Centers

Although not supported as a method for achieving total desegregation, the Magnet School and Supplementary Centers are advanced as a means of achieving partial school desegregation in large cities with large enrollments of black students. The plan designates schools offering special curricula which are designed to attract students from wide geographic areas. The technique ranges from full-time schools with special in-depth programs to centers with programs designed to supplement the basic academic skills taught in schools with more comprehensive offerings. The Magnet School and Supplementary Center concept might be illustrated as follows:(33)



▨ Black Schools

□ White Schools

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(33) Adapted from U.S. Commission on Civil Rights pamphlet, *Schools Can Be Desegregated*, p. 7.

Although the Magnet Schools and Supplementary Center concept aid desegregation and provide a meaningful basis for relevant education for all children, the technique does have limitations.

> "While supplementary centers and magnet schools provide advantages over traditional school arrangements in achieving a degree of school desegregation, each device has limitations. Supplementary centers draw students only on an intermittent basis and often may not afford a substantial and extended experience in a desegregated setting. Magnet schools depend upon student choice and are limited by available space. In both cases, the regular schools in the system remain relatively unaffected." (34)

Where Magnet Schools and Supplementary Centers are Operational

> "Philadelphia has begun a program providing for magnet schools, financed in part with Federal funds. When fully implemented, three senior high schools will have special academic programs. Each school will have one area of specialization: commerce and business, space and aeronautical science, or government and human service.
>
> "In addition, two desegregated middle schools serving grades 5 through 8 have been proposed; each will stress individualized instruction, innovations in teaching, and the flexible grouping of students. Four elementary schools will have intensive programs in reading and science, again stressing individual attention for students. School officials view the middle and elementary magnet schools as a means of retaining a racial balance in the student population by providing superior education.
>
> "Los Angeles, Calif., plans to convert three senior high schools and four junior high schools into magnet schools. The schools are located relatively near each other in an area of racial transition. One special center will be installed in each school, offering intensive instruction in one or more advanced curriculum areas, such as data processing, foreign languages, and advanced mathematics. Enrollment will be voluntary. A student who elects to participate in the program will attend his neighborhood school for part of the school day and be transported to the magnet center for his special course work. While the magnet schools initially will serve only students living in the attendance areas of the magnet schools, school officials have indicated that after the program is in operation children from elsewhere in the city will be encouraged to take special courses at the magnet schools."(35)

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(34) Op. Cit., Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, p. 166.

(35) Ibid., pp. 165-166.

Closure of Certain Schools

The closure of certain schools and dispersing the students among the remaining schools is a common practice in dealing with the desegregation problem.

> "The closing of a segregated or racially imbalanced school and assigning its students to other schools in the system is a technique similar to the establishment of central schools. Closed schools often have been utilized for other purposes such as a nursery school or a laboratory school. This was effectively done in Xenia, Ohio, where a formerly all-Negro school has been converted into a demonstration school which utilizes new educational techniques and is attended by a cross-section of students in the community. The superintendent of schools in Xenia said the plan would not fail because this previously all-Negro school 'is the city's prestige school.'"(36)

Examples of Districts Using Closure Procedure

Syracuse, New York:

> "Syracuse is a medium-sized city which in 1960 had a population of about 216,000. Fifteen percent of its junior high school enrollment was Negro in 1965. Of the city's 12 junior high schools, 11 had racial compositions ranging from 69 to 100 percent white in the fall of 1964. The 12th--Madison Junior High--was 77 percent Negro. In 1965, Madison was closed and its approximately 345 students were bused to other junior high schools. As a result, in 1965, none of the Syracuse junior high schools had a Negro enrollment greater than 34 percent.

White Plains, New York:

> "In White Plains, N. Y.,--a city of about 50,000 people--school officials have used a number of devices to desegregate the schools. During the 1957-58 school year when the board was considering replacement of the city's one overcrowded high school, it rejected a proposal to build two high schools for fear they would become racially imbalanced. Instead, in 1959, the old school was replaced with one new high school, which in 1965 was 14 percent Negro. The city's three junior high schools were desegregated in 1960 by adjusting the boundaries of their attendance areas.
>
> "Desegregation of the elementary schools in White Plains presented a somewhat more difficult problem. One of the elementary schools in the city, Rochambeau, was majority-Negro. In 1960, the school board attempted to reduce racial imbalance at the Rochambeau school by changing its attendance area, estimating that with the new boundaries, the school would open majority-white. Racial changes in the neighborhood, however, nullified the school administration's effort, and Rochambeau opened majority-Negro. In 1964, although White Plains already had a high per-pupil expenditure

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(36) U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Pamphlet (Based upon Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, 1967.)

and there was opposition in the community based in part on fear of increased costs, the Rochambeau school was closed and its students assigned--most transported--to each of the remaining 10 elementary schools. Before the closing of Rochambeau, one of the elementary schools had been 100 percent white and five had been 90 to 99 percent white. As of April 1966, all 10 elementary schools in White Plains ranged from 15 percent to 30 percent Negro."(37)

School Desegregation By Pairing

A desegregation device which has had considerable success in small cities is that of "pairing." Pairing is the process of merging the attendance areas of two or more schools near each other, so that each school serves a different grade level. A simple example, shown earlier in this Bulletin, might be: School A is predominantly black and School B is predominantly white. The schools serve attendance areas adjacent to each other. Both schools include grades 1 to 6. To pair them, one school will be used for all children from grades 1 to 3, while the second school will include all children from 4 to 6.

The school pairing concept was initiated in the Princeton, New Jersey schools in 1948. At that time the school system had two elementary schools, one was nearly all Negro and the other almost all white. The paired school plan placed all children in grades K - 5 in one school, while all children grades 6 - 8 were assigned the other school.

Because of this early experiment with the pairing technique of integrating schools, such a process has become known as "the Princeton Plan." It has served as a model for other small school districts.

A second school to adapt the pairing procedure was Greenburgh, New York. This small city had a population of some 17,000. The school enrollment was composed of 37 percent black children. Before desegregation, the Greenburgh school district had three elementary schools. One school was predominately white while the other two had 60 and 90 percent Negro students respectively. After a bussing program was tried and rejected by the community, a pairing plan was proposed and implemented. Under this plan all children from K-3 were placed in one school. The second school included all children in grades 4 - 6, while the third was composed of all children in grades 7 - 9.

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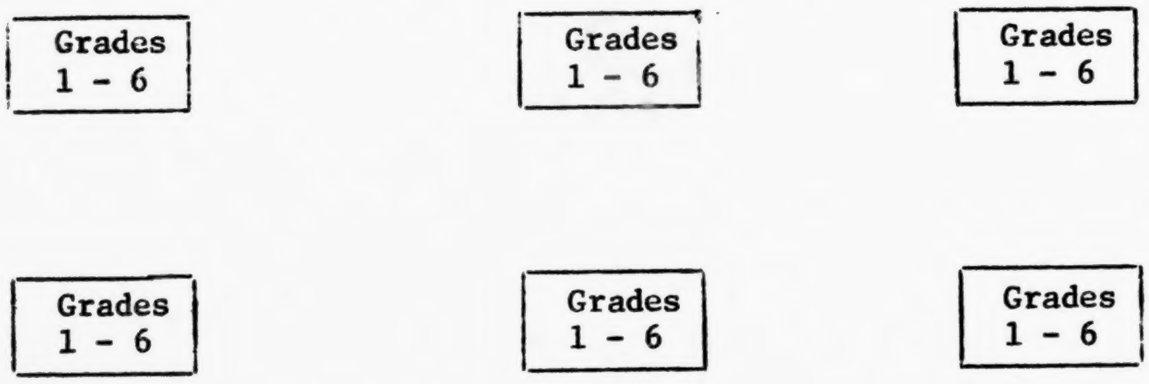
(37)Op. cit., Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, pp. 144-145.

In 1962 the small town of Coalesville, Pennsylvania adapted the Princeton Plan to the desegregation problem. Of four elementary schools, one was predominantly white while another was predominantly black. After the pairing plan was implemented, one school housed all children in the two attendance areas grades K - 3. The other included all children through grades 4 to 6.

The Central School Concept

The Pairing Concept has been used to desegregate small schools but it has not been as effective in large systems. An adaptation of the pairing technique, which has been used by larger school systems is the Central School Concept. This plan converts one or more schools with a single grade level. These schools serve all children in the city for that particular grade. The remaining schools serve the other grades but with enlarged attendance areas. A diagram showing this concept is as follows:

Before Central School Implementation(38)



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(38)Adopted from U.S. Commission on Civil Rights pamphlet, Schools Can Be Desegregated, Clearinghouse Publication No. 8, June 1967, p. 5.

After Central School Implementation

Grades 1 - 5	Grades 1 - 5	Grades 1 - 5
Grade 6	Grade 6	Grades 1 - 5

Three school districts are cited as using the Central School Concept.

"In Englewood, N. J., a residential suburb of New York City, the five elementary schools were highly segregated before 1963. Two of the schools were majority-Negro and the remaining three nearly all white. In 1964, the board assigned all sixth-grade students to a single school and changed each of the remaining schools from K-6 to K-5 schools. As a result, one school (K-5) remained majority-Negro. In 1966, the board expanded its central school plan by adding a second central school. Both central schools now teach the fifth and sixth grades. The remaining schools became K-4 schools. As a result, the majority-Negro K-5 school became a majority-white central school. One of the remaining K-4 majority-white neighborhood schools, however, became majority-Negro in the interim. Because the attendance areas of the K-4 schools were enlarged, a greater number of students in grades K-4 lived more than a mile from school and had to be transported. The school system augmented its annual budget by $24,000 to meet the increased transportation expense.

"A similar plan for the three junior high schools in Berkeley, Calif., was implemented in 1964. In 1963, it had a 39 percent Negro enrollment in junior high schools. One of the junior high schools was majority-Negro. In 1964, this school was converted into a citywide ninth grade school, and the attendance areas of the two other junior highs (now serving grades 7 and 8) were expanded. As a result, in 1965, all junior high schools were 38 to 47 percent Negro.

"Teaneck, N.J., a suburb of New York City, also desegregated its elementary schools by establishing central schools. Prior to 1964, six of Teaneck's eight elementary schools were all white; one (Washington Irving) was 39 percent Negro, and another (Bryant) was majority-Negro. In 1964, the Teaneck School Board voted to convert Bryant into a central sixth-grade school serving all children in the city. Bryant students in grades 1 to 5 were assigned to the six previously all-white schools. The board also expanded the attendance area of the Washington Irving School to include more white children. The major expenditure in the Teaneck plan has been for transportation. During the 1966-67 school year, 11 buses are being used to transport the school children."(39)

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(39) ____________________, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, A Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1967, pp. 142-143.

The Campus School Concept

The Syracuse, New York school system has had an "open school" policy since 1962. During the step-by-step approach to integration within the district, a somewhat different integration idea was conceived. The concept came to be known as the Campus Plan. It was devised in response to the conclusion by school officials that racial imbalance could not best be eliminated simply by continuing to close down predominantly Negro schools and bus their students to other elementary schools. Also, the location and movement of people within the district posed major problems for school planning. The Campus Plan is described as follows:

> *"It (the Campus Plan) was born of a belief that continuing to replace schools in each attendance area, as needs arise, is an inadequate approach to urban education. It is inadequate within the limits of a reasonable economy. It is inadequate if we are to realize our goal of maximum educational opportunity for all children of the community.*
>
> "The Campus Plan envisions clusters of elementary school buildings on four sites, one in each quadrant of the city. The new sites would replace all existing neighborhood elementary schools, and could be developed at the city's outer edge where land can be acquired at a reasonable cost. Approximately 4,200 elementary school children would attend each campus.
>
> "As presently conceived, the first site would contain eight separate satellite schools and a central core. The central building would house special facilities to be shared by all 4,200 children in the eight units. These would include an auditorium, gymnasiums, kitchen, library, school health, educational television facilities, and other special-purpose rooms. In addition, the eight surrounding schools would be paired into four groups, and each pair would share a cafeteria, library, and space for staff offices. Physical education and recreation areas also would be developed on the 40-acre site. . . ."(40)

An All Elementary School Campus Plan

Campus plans ordinarily conceive of a complex including all grades from K through 12, and in some cases, the junior college is added. Syracuse, N. Y., after a comprehensive feasibility study, plans an all elementary school complex.

> "Basically, the proposal which the study explores, all located at the city's edge, which eventually would house all kindergarten through sixth-grade children. Each campus would contain several

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(40) ________________, Process of Change: The Story of School Desegregation in Syracuse, New York, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Clearinghouse Publication No. 12, June 1968, pp. 18-21.

> separate satellite schools of 500 pupils each clustered around a central 'core' facility shared by all.
>
> "The campus concept for lower than college-level education is fairly new, but has been put into practice in other forms in several communities. For example, there are campuses which include elementary through high school grades. Syracuse, however, is first to propose a campus for elementary grades, kindergarten through six exclusively. . . .
>
> "In terms of cost, replacement of the eight obsolete neighborhood schools in their attendance areas is estimated at $10,997,300. The estimated cost of the first campus is $10,525,000. Bonding would be required to implement either plan. The first campus thus would provide elementary education facilities for 4,270 pupils at a cost approximately the same as that of eight neighborhood schools housing 3,500 pupils."(41)

Open Enrollment and Freedom of Choice

The literature, in general, has few positive things to say about open enrollment. Havighurst indicates what has not happened and alludes to useful experiences.

> "Open Attendance. This is now the rule in several cities. Under this arrangement a student can attend any school in the city if there is room for him and if he provides his own transportation. Some cities provide free transportation. While the definition of an 'open' school varies greatly from city to city, in general, open attendance in these respective cities has resulted in only some three to six percent of Negro youth leaving segregated Negro schools and going to schools with a white majority. This policy has also permitted a few white children to leave schools that were predominantly Negro and go to schools which are all or nearly all white. It seems clear that the great majority of Negro parents will persist in sending their children to the nearest school, even though it is an all-Negro school. Many cities today have severe overcrowding in schools in Negro residential areas at the same time that empty classrooms exist in some schools in white residential areas. In these cases the board of education may transport Negro pupils to all-white schools as a means of relieving the overcrowding. Much useful experience is being gained concerning viable forms of integrated schooling as the result of these transportation programs. Many of these programs are meeting difficulties, often due to the different levels of achievement between newcomers who come from low-income families and the local pupils who come from middle-income families."(42)

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(41) ____________________"Syracuse Considers Campus School System," School Board Journal, September, 1967, pp. 10-12.

(42) Havighurst, Robert J., and Bernice L. Neugarten, Society and Education, Third Edition, Allyn and Bacon, Inc., Boston, 1967.

A Study of Open Enrollment

A middle-sized city in the Midwest (Community X) completed an intensive study of the problem of racial imbalance and embarked upon a program of amelioration. Two consultants, Donald H. Bouma and James Hoffman, professors at Western Michigan University and University of Pittsburgh respectively, served the citizens' study committee and the board of education. The community population was about 200,000 and served a metropolitan area of over 300,000. The committee and consultant evaluated the potentials of 9 proposals. The proposal which has relevance to this paper is as follows:

> "Adopting a policy of open enrollment in under-utilized schools. The board would annually publish a list of such open schools and Negro parents would have the option of enrolling their children in such schools. Once enrolled, a student would be allowed to remain in this school until his education was completed. Either the parents or the schools could be made responsible for the transporting of pupils."(43)

In making the recommendation that this proposal be adopted, the consultants and citizens' study committee made the following evaluation of its potential:

> "The seventh proposal, open enrollment plans which allow any child to attend any school in the system so long as space is available to accommodate him, has been tried in a number of cities with mixed reaction. Where in operation it has been found that only about 3 percent of the Negro parents avail themselves of the opportunity, and these are usually middle-class or upwardly mobile parents with a strong interest in education.
>
> "It has been criticized because it takes out of the Negro schools those successful students who are a source of gratification to the teachers and inspiration for the other pupils. Questions have been raised about the boomerang effects that may result. That is, if Negro children have the right to opt for a white school, how do you prevent white students from choosing an all-white school instead of the racially mixed school? It is argued that open enrollment vitiates the effect of compensatory education programs in the inner-city schools, and that there is little guarantee that meaningful encounters between the races will ensue.

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(43) Bouma, Donald H., and James Hoffman, The Dynamics of School Integration: Problems and Approaches in a Northern City, William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1968, pp. 59-60.

> "Although open enrollment is unlikely to result in widescale desegregation, it is defended on the basis of its importance for the Negro child who does transfer and because it does provide at least some interracial educational experience for some white children. If the Negro parents who choose the transfers are the middle class and oriented toward up-mobility, it is their children who are least likely to need compensatory education programs and who are most likely to be headed for careers that will involve the maximum of interracial contact. The point is that a Negro family may be trapped by residential segregation patterns, but that this does not have to mean an unreal educational experience in a segregated school.
>
> "Often social change is stymied by those critics who, by contending that a proposed course of action will not completely rid us of a problem, obscure the fact that it may get at some important segment of the problem. Open enrollment policies do get at a segment of the problem. It is also likely that as compensatory education programs take hold and educational horizons are lifted for both pupils and parents, larger numbers will avail themselves of this option."(44)

Of the 31 recommendations made by the consultants and citizens' committee to the board, the one calling for a policy of open enrollment, along with two others, was not acted upon.

Closely related to the open enrollment concept is that of "freedom of choice" used in southern states. There are indications that this concept is not a practical desegregation tool. One recent indication of this is a recent ruling of the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

> "'Freedom of choice' enrollment has not effectively desegregated Louisiana schools, the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals recently ruled.
>
> "The Court noted that in only a few of the 37 districts in question is the Negro enrollment in formerly all-white schools more than 10 percent. It ordered the districts to come up with satisfactory desegregation plans by July 25.
>
> "The landmark decision will probably encourage similar suits in other 'freedom of choice' areas. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other civil rights groups have been the strongest critics of 'freedom of choice' plans, charging that a transferring pupil is accepted at the school of his choice only if there is a vacant seat

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(44) Ibid., pp. 63-64.

> after neighborhood children are enrolled. Also, the pupil must provide his own transportation if the school is not the closest one to his home."(45)

Bash and Long, writing for the Phi Delta Kappa Commission on Education, Human Rights, and Responsibilities, suggest some problems arising out of "Voluntary transfer" or "open enrollment."

> "'Voluntary transfer' or 'open enrollment' may create some problems on the part of the students. Not being part of the neighborhood within which the school is located, they may feel as if they are foreigners within the school to which they transfer. This may be especially true if they live a long distance from the school and if they are of a minority race within the school. At the same time the student likely becomes disassociated with the group in his home neighborhood after school hours because of distance and time taken traveling. Further complicating the matter 'open enrollment' within different schools may cause differences in class size which create a disparity in educational opportunity available for students."(46)

Design Making for Desegregation

Herbert Wey, in his booklet, Planning and Preparing for Successful School Desegregation. suggests some decisions which need to be made when developing a plan for school segregation:

> "1. On what date will desegregation begin? Most school systems select a date that coincides with the beginning of the school year.
>
> "2. What basic philosophy will buttress the desegregation program? There are many who adopt a philosophy which provides eventually for complete and orderly desegregation and removal of all discrimination, with minimum disruption of the educational programs for pupils. Some will adopt a philosophy 'this is something we must do so let's make the best of it.' However, such a philosophy often leads to confusion and lack of support by teachers, parents, etc.
>
> "3. What basic policy will be used in desegregating the schools? Will the schools be operated on a free choice basis or will unitary districts be drawn and pupils assigned to the school in their district? Certainly, the establishment of unitary districts and the assignment of a pupil to the school in his district is the most acceptable plan, but in the transition period many school systems will start with a free choice policy and then later change to a geographic or districting policy.

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(45) ________________ "'Freedom Choice' not satisfactory desegregation, court rules," Education Summary, Croft Educational Services, Inc., New London, Connecticut, July 1, 1969, p. 3.

(46) Bash, James H., and Roger L. Long, Effective Administration in Desegregated Schools, Phi Delta Kappa, Bloomington, Indiana, p. 49.

School systems which start desegregation with a free choice policy must accept the responsibility of assuring all concerned that the plan can be operated without discrimination.

"4. Should complete desegregation be undertaken all at once or in a series of orderly steps? The all-at-once plan calls for desegregation on a large scale and tends to lessen the possibility of attack upon a limited area. The courts have looked with increasingly less favor on the programs of 'gradualism.' They continue to permit, however, plans based on a bona fide effort to accomplish desegregation through orderly and well-planned steps.

"5. If desegregation is to be carried out in steps, then which steps will be taken first and what is the justification for each step? Certainly, a gradual or step program should include desegregation of the first grade as a part of the first step. No plan should be attempted which works exclusively from the top down. Any gradual plan should include a time table which would end with a complete and total desegregation of pupils and staff.

"6. If school attendance areas are to be re-drawn on a non-segregated basis, then what is to be done when two schools (one previously Negro and one white) are close together? In the past some desegregated systems have set up a single attendance area covering both schools and allowed parents to select the school they wanted their youngsters to attend.

"7. If attendance area lines are re-drawn, then on what basis are they to be re-drawn and who should do this? Because of their first hand knowledge, many school systems effectively use principals in setting up new district boundaries.

"8. What is to be done about pupil transportation? Will transportation be desegregated at the same time schools are desegregated? What about transportation for a pupil who attends a school out of his attendance area? The common practice is for a pupil to furnish his own transportation when he attends a school outside his own attendance area. Dual bus lines would no longer be permitted, and bus lines would have to be drawn without regard to race.

"9. What will be the transfer policy and how will this affect the plan? A few school systems have followed a strict districting with no transfers. However, most school systems have followed transfer practices varying all the way from free transfer, allowing a child to attend any school he chooses, to a very limited transfer policy. In the preparation of the transfer policy, race, of course, may not be used as reason for transfer. For example, the transfer policies of some school systems allow a pupil to request a transfer if he is assigned to a school in which his race is in the minority. This has been and likely will continue to be challenged in the courts. Most desegregated school systems allow pupils to transfer freely, and without regard to racial factors, provided space is available in the school requested and the pupil furnishes his own transportation.

"10. Who will be responsible for acting on transfer request? Most plans place this responsibility with the superintendent and his board, but others vary. Some plans require the approval of both principals involved as well as the superintendent.

"11. What happens when a school becomes too crowded? In most plans there is a provision that stipulates that the superintendent has the right to make assignments within limits of board policy, which is necessary to keep schools from becoming overcrowded. But if such transfers are based on race, they will be challenged by the courts.

"12. Should there be a time limit on transfer requests? Most plans, in order to prevent sudden shifts from one school to another, have a deadline after which applications for transfer will not be considered. In addition, most plans require a pupil to remain in a school he is assigned to for the entire school year and in some cases until he completes the school program. The matter of dealing with hardship cases should be anticipated.

"13. Will pupils attending schools in which certain subjects they want and are qualified to take are not offered be allowed to transfer to schools where these subjects are offered? Some schools actually use this as a first step in desegregation. Obviously this would only be one step, not a desegregation plan.

"14. If some form of pupil placement is used as an integral part of the desegregation plan, then what criteria would be used for placing a pupil in a school of the opposite race? Greensboro, North Carolina, used one criterion for considering applications for reassignment. 'If the child were white and similarly qualified, where would he go?' Thus, location or geography became the only basis for screening the requests of Negroes for re-assignment. Other school systems have included such criteria as academic ability, behavior record, and general ability to succeed in the new situation. Such criteria as these would not now stand up if challenged in court.

"15. What is to be done about the assignment of staff? In general the desegreation of pupils has been allowed to take precedence over desegregation of staff, but any immediate plan should recognize that complete compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 will call for faculty desegregation. Courts have already ruled that faculty segregation is discriminatory as far as students are concerned.

"16. What happens when questions or problems arise that are not covered by the adopted plan? In order to protect themselves, most school boards are now including a statement in their plan which gives the superintendent the power to handle such matters subject to the approval of the board."(47)

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(47) Wey, Herbert, Planning and Preparing for Successful School Integration, Phi Delta Kappa, Inc., 1965, pp. 12-16.

Dr. Wey goes on to suggest what one might expect to find in a desegregation plan:

> "1. A philosophic statement which serves as a basis for actual desegregation policies and procedures. The philosophic statement should make clear the general attitude of the school administration that will prevail as desegregation is carried out. For example, one school district's statement read as follows, 'Under present laws segregation of the races is no longer possible and, therefore, we plan to carry out an orderly program of desegregation which will eventually result in complete desegregation of all grades in all schools. This will be done with minimum disruption of the educational programs for all students and with fair and impartial treatment of everyone directly affected by the desegregation process. In so doing the effectiveness of the instructional program for all children will be maintained or improved.'
>
> "2. Background data such as: a spot map showing location of all pupils by race and all schools by race; enrollment data by race in all schools; present curricular offerings in the different schools, number of students by race attending schools outside the school district; number of teachers by race; present practices concerning assignment of teachers and other personnel; present bus transportation practices; and information concerning any children of different races who are attending the same school.
>
> "3. Actual guidelines and basic policies for moving from a segregated school system to a totally desegregated school system. This would include such things as:
>
> > "(1) Policy governing the start or continuation of a desegregation plan. This policy could be based upon either complete freedom of choice, establishment of attendance areas and assigning pupils to the school in their attendance area or a combination of attendance areas and free choice. Although some school systems will find it necessary to begin desegregation under a free choice policy, They should work towards the time when each pupil will attend the school nearest his home.
> >
> > "(2) A statement concerning the steps or length of time it will take to complete the desegregation program. It is possible that a school might be allowed to start with two or three grades on a free choice basis, but it is very unlikely for this school to be allowed to take 10 or 11 years to complete the job.
> >
> > "(3) A map showing attendance areas, if these have been redrawn.
> >
> > "(4) Transfer policies, if pupils are allowed to transfer after choosing a school or if attendance areas are used and pupils are allowed to transfer. This must be done without regard to race.

"(5) If a free choice plan is used, then pupils living closest to a school should have preference if the school becomes overcrowded.

"(6) A statement of new transportation policies. A school system should plan bus routes so there is a unitary program in which the same bus serves children of both races.

"(7) Date plan will go into effect and how parents and children will be notified of their rights under the new program. This must be planned so everyone has adequate time to take advantage of the new program. All media such as radio, television, newspaper, and individual notices to parents should be used.

"(8) Procedures for the registration of pupils. This should be handled in such a way that registration should be convenient as possible for each parent and child. Having parents go to the superintendent's office is not advisable.

"(9) A statement concerning assignment of staff. As stated earlier, the first consideration is desegregation of pupils, but all proposed plans should include a statement of what consideration has been given to the desegregation of personnel.

"4. Justification of the guidelines and policies adopted. Reasons for taking certain steps in a total desegregation program should be given and supported with actual data. Test information, building conditions, transportation problems, teaching personnel, and community problems which reveal information that support the first steps of an adopted plan should either be included as an actual part of the plan or be available as a supplement to the plan.

"5. Preparation of teachers and pupils for desegregation. In the past most plans have omitted this information from the actual plan itself. However, a plan would certainly be strengthened if it included a listing of steps to be taken to prepare faculty and pupils for desegregation. . . ."(48)

After indicating possible decisions to be made and what might be expected in an integration plan, Dr. Wey suggests several plan formats. Four such suggested plans are as follows:

1. "All At Once Plan

The following are the guides and policies involved in a plan which desegregates all grades at the same time, making use of attendance areas and free transfer:

"1. The desegregation program will go into operation in September.

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(48) Ibid., pp. 24-27.

"2. The change will be complete throughout the school district and at all levels, kindergarten through high school and adult classes.

"3. The entire area of the school district will be redistricted without regard to race.

"4. In redistricting there will be no gerrymandering or other establishment of unnatural boundaries.

"5. The redistricting will be done in such a manner as to serve all the children as conveniently as possible, with proper regard to the capacities of buildings.

"6. To each school will be assigned an area which will furnish, without excessive travel, the appropriate number of pupils, regardless of race, which it may reasonably serve.

"7. If two or more schools are close together, or for other reasons it seems wise, a single district may be established for them and parents may be permitted to choose freely between or among them within the capacities of the respective schools.

"8. When new district or attendance lines have been established and approved by the board of education, the parents of all the children will be informed in writing by July 1 of the school or schools in which their children belong.

"9. A parent who prefers another school may request a transfer. The transfer and the parents' preference of schools will be granted within the capacity of the schools and with due regard for the convenience of the children and the preferences and conveniences of other parents and children.

"10. Transfers such as those described in paragraph 9 above will not be permitted to crowd out any pupils who, by residence, belong in the school.

"11. A pupil attending a school other than the one which serves the district in which he lives may be required to transfer to the school in which he belongs by residence, if attendance, conduct, or school work is not satisfactory.

"12. Pupils attending a school outside the district of residence will not receive free transportation, except in unusual cases which the superintendent may approve.

"13. Assignment of faculty to schools by race will be discontinued and teachers will be assigned on the basis of competency as well as personal preference.

"The preceeding plan for desegregation is quite similar to the one used by the Louisville city school system. The most notable feature of this plan, other than the simplicity, is its free choice or permissive aspect. Because of the free choice transfers to everyone, there was no assurance under this plan that any single school in the school system would remain desegregated. However, experience has shown that a good many parents of both races, particularly in the beginning, would prefer their children to attend a school in which their own race was not a small minority. Thus, this type of plan usually results in very little mixing of the races, especially at the beginning.

2. "Step By Step Plan

"The following are the guides and policies involved in a plan that starts with the first two grades as the first step and proceeds toward total desegregation in an orderly fashion:

"1. Desegregation will begin with the opening of school in September.

"2. All classes in grades one and two will operate on a desegregated basis.

"3. New boundaries will be drawn for all elementary schools, and first and second grade pupils will be assigned to the school in their zone. Parents will be notified of the assignment by July 1st.

"4. All pupils other than first and second graders will be assigned to the same schools they attended last year.

"5. A first or second grade pupil, if he so desires, may transfer to a school outside the attendance area in which he resides.

"6. To transfer, an application shall be submitted by August 1st to the principal located in the pupil's attendance area, who in turn forwards it to the superintendent for board action.

"7. It shall be the general attitude of the board to approve a transfer request unless there is some reason other than race, such as traffic hazards, which would make the transfer an unwise one.

"8. Once transfers are requested and granted, no retransfers will be approved.

"9. Two additional grades will be desegregated each succeeding year until all grades have been desegregated.

"10. A study will be made immediately of the feasibility of the selection and the assignment of all school personnel without regard to race.

"A step by step plan, better known in the past as a gradual plan, is now being used by many Southern school districts. However, there are almost as many varieties of this plan as there are school districts. Some districts start at the first grade and go up, some start with the 12th grade and come down, some start at 1st grade and at 7th grade simultaneously, etc. It should be noted that a plan which works exclusively from the top down would probably not be acceptable for meeting requirements under Sec. 601 of Title VI or Civil Rights Act of 1964.

"It should be further noted that the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in 1964 that grade-a-year programs of desegregation were no longer acceptable in two Georgia and two Alabama school districts. This same court directed that a three step plan for desegregation should be submitted for a Louisiana school district. The courts have also ruled that 'no official transfer plan or provision of which racial segregation is the inevitable consequence may stand under the Fourteenth Amendment.'

3. "Free Choice Plan

"Many school systems are starting desegregation on a free choice basis and allowing pupils to select the school they want to attend. This should be considered an interim plan which eventually would give way to a plan based on attendance areas with a pupil attending the school nearest his home. The following provisions are usually included in a free choice plan.

"1. The maintenance of separate schools for the Negro and white children of this school system shall be completely ended with respect to the first grade during the school year commencing September, 1965.

"2. For the school year beginning in September, 1965, all pupils entering the first grade shall be admitted to the various elementary schools without regard to race, giving primary consideration to the choice of the pupil or his parent or legal guardian.

"3. Among those pupils in a desegregated grade applying for admission to a particular school, where adequate facilities are not available for all applying pupils, priority of admission shall be based on the proximity of the residence of the pupil to the school, provided that for justifiable administrative reasons other factors not related to race may be applied.

"4. Where a pupil in a desegregated grade, or his parent or legal guardian, had indicated his choice of schools as herein provided, and has been notified of his admission to such school, transfer to another school will be permitted only in a hardship case or for valid reasons unrelated to race.

"5. Not later than August 1, 1965, the Board will publish this plan in a newspaper having a general circulation throughout the school district so as to give all pupils and their parents or legal guardians, notice of the rights that are to be accorded them.

"6. All parents or guardians of children desiring to have such children admitted into the first grade of some school within the district will be requested to go to the school of their choice on Thursday, August 20, between the hours of 8 a.m. and 12 noon and make application for admission of such children.

"7. Commencing September, 1966, the maintenance of separate schools for the first three grades will be completely ended. Commencing September, 1967, the maintenance of separate schools for the first six grades will be completely ended, and by September, 1968, all grades will be open to children on a free choice basis without regard to race.

"8. The operation of pupil transportation will be desegregated on the same time table as are the schools. Starting September, 1965, all buses serving first grade students will operate on a desegregated basis.

"9. The problem of the selection and assignment of faculty and administrators will be studied, and recommendations will be made for doing this without regard to race.

4. "Atlanta Plan

"The city of Atlanta, Ga., started desegregation in 1961, at which time the 11th and 12th grades were desegregated on a pupil assignment basis. The plan called for reverse-stairstep approach--moving desegregation down one step a year. The plan included 20 criteria for transfers.

"The plan was challenged in the courts and as a result the Atlanta School Board adopted a new assignment and transfer plan which put emphasis on pupil preferences, available facilities, and proximity. Moreover, the reverse-stairstep plan was upheld by the courts, and Atlanta is continuing its one grade a year program, which is now down to the 8th grade. The Atlanta plan for the school year of 1964 and 1965 included the following provisions:

"1. Pupils completing the seventh grade in June, 1964, will be given an opportunity to indicate a choice of high schools they wish to attend the following year.

"2. Pupils presently enrolled in a high school may request a transfer to another school as a part of the pre-registration procedure.

"3. Forms will be provided on which may be listed two or more high schools in the order of preference. Completed forms from each school will be forwarded to the appropriate area superintendent.

"4. Assignments and/or transfers will be administratively decided on the basis of the following factors, considered in the order listed:

a. Pupil preference
b. Available facilities
c. Proximity

"5. The 'High School Preference Form' is to be completed by all seventh grade pupils.

"6. Only those pupils presently enrolled who wish to request a transfer to another school should complete the 'Transfer Request Form.'

"7. In so far as the application of the factors listed in '4' will permit, pupil preference will be followed in making assignments or authorizing transfers.

"(1) If the high school requested or preferred is the one nearest the pupil's home and space is available, the assignment or transfer will normally correspond with the indicated first preference.

"(2) Decisions relating to proximity will include a consideration of availability and convenience of transportation, natural or other barriers, and safety hazards.

"8. If more pupils indicate a preference for a given school than can be accommodated, those who live nearer the requested school will be given first consideration. Over-riding educational reasons will be considered as possible justification for exceptions.

"9. Once made, a pupil's high school assignment will continue in effect until graduation, unless conditions influencing the original assignment change or for educational reasons a change is justified.

"10. In order to maintain a reasonable ratio of enrollment to capacity, it is often necessary to make administrative assignments which are contrary to the wishes of the pupils involved. Such assignments or transfers will be made with care, but will be implemented as deemed necessary to accomplish the educational goals of the system.

"11. Pupils completing the seventh grade in a school will be advised of their high school assignments before the end of the current school year. Pupils presently enrolled in a high school who request a transfer to another school will also be advised before the end of the current school year as to whether or not the request is approved.

"12. Pupils new to the system who plan to enroll in a high school should report to the nearest or preferred school on the registration dates announced. Assignments will be cooperatively decided by the Principal and Area Superintendent on the basis of factors listed in '4' above.

"13. There are no required or uniform dates for filing transfer requests or for completing 'High School Preference Forms.' The dates specified in the Pupil Placement Plan previously in effect (May 1-May 15) no longer apply. Completion of preference or transfer forms should be carried out at the time and in the manner deemed most desirable by area superintendents, principals, and counselors.

"14. Blanks for use in requesting assignment or transfer are attached to these instructions.

"Atlanta is under a court order, and what will be done for the Fall of 1965 is yet to be determined. It is almost certain that the grade a year process will be speeded up, but whether speeded up or not, the plan will certainly call for desegregation of the first grade instead of the sixth grade, thus reversing the procedure from bottom up, instead of top down."(49)

Programs and Reports Relative to Open Enrollment

New York, N. Y.

(Two programs selected from the ERIC catalogue)

1. "ED 012 289
Free Choice Open Enrollment - Junior High Schools.
By - Thorndike, Robert L. and others
Center For Urban Education, New York, N. Y.
Pub Date 31 Aug 66
"EDRS Price MF-$0.09 HC-$1.12 28P.

"Descriptors - Evaluation, Free Choice Transfer Programs, Grade 7, Minority Group Children, Open Enrollment, Academic Achievement, Adjustment (To Environment), Administrator Attitudes, Attendance, Comparative Analysis, Data, ESEA Title I, Friendship, Junior High Schools, New York City, Parent Attitudes, Peer Relationship, Rating Scales, Reading Tests, Research Methodology, School Attitudes, School Integration, Student Attitudes, Student Behavior, Teacher Attitudes.

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(49) Ibid., Wey, Herbert - Phi Delta Kappan, pp. 27-36.

"An evaluation of a free choice, open enrollment program, in which seventh-grade minority group children had the opportunity to transfer to racially balanced junior high schools outside their neighborhoods, recorded the responses of the pupils, parents, and teachers in the receiving schools. The comparative assessment of academic achievement, school behavior and discipline, peer acceptance, and school attitudes of the 263 open enrollment pupils and the 257 nonopen enrollment pupils in the same 13 junior high schools were gathered from school records and pupil-completed rating forms and questionnaires. Teacher, administrator, and parent attitudes and evaluations were assessed by questionnaires. General findings indicated that, in comparison with national norms and nonopen enrollment classmates, the open enrollment pupils had a higher incidence of unsatisfactory grades in academic subjects. However, the two groups of pupils did not differ markedly in their attendance, extent of disciplinary problems, favorable attitudes toward school, and peer acceptance. The parents of the open enrollment pupils for the most part were favorable toward the present school of their children, but the teachers and administrators tended to view negatively the open enrollment pupils. (JL)

2. "ED 011 532
Free Choice Open Enrollment - Elementary Schools.
By - Fox, David J.
Center For Urban Education, New York, N. Y.
Pub Date 31 Aug '66
"EDRS Price MF - $18 HC - $4.36 109P.

"Descriptors - Elementary Schools, Evaluation, Free Choice Transfer Programs, Open Enrollment, Administrator Attitudes, Aspirations, Attendance, Bus Transportation, Data Collection, ESEA Title I Programs, Friendship, Minority Group Children, New York City, Questionnaires, Reading Achievement, Research Methodology, Social Relations, Student Attitudes, Student Behavior, Teacher Attitudes, Teaching Quality.

"This evaluative report of a free choice--open enrollment program, in which minority group children had the opportunity to transfer to schools outside their neighborhoods, recorded the responses of the elementary school students and teachers in the receiving and sending schools. Assessment of the program was based on 2-day visits to 63 schools to gather observational, interview, sociometric, and school recorded data. Because of limited time, material on the parents' attitude toward the program and their evaluation of its effectiveness was not obtained. General findings indicated little change in the reading ability of the program children when compared with that of students remaining in the sending schools. Gains were observed, however, in social relations, as there was friendly interaction among ethnic groups in most receiving schools. Both program children and those in the receiving schools had positive impressions of school, class, and social situations, but the staff felt that their job had become more difficult and that school discipline had declined. The program had such administrative difficulties as lack of bus supervision, insufficient orientation for participants (parents and children), poor coordination between receiving and sending schools, and not enough personnel for remedial work in the receiving schools. (NC)"

BUSSING

Misplanning A Bussing Program

A plan to bus black children from the ghettoes of New York City, to rich and liberal Great Neck, New York, may be a classic model of misplanning.

> "The plan involved bussing in 45 to 60 children, kindergarten through second grade. No class size would be allowed to exceed 22 in the receiving classrooms and, after two years, there would be a decision on whether to continue the project. All funding would come from sources outside Great Neck. No children would be bussed from Great Neck into the city."(50)

Even though the plan was logically conceived and the school district was appropriate for such a step, there was a great public outburst against the proposal. A summary of the Great Neck bussing controversy provides a basis for some meaningful soul-searching by those who contemplate a similar plan.

> "Looking back on the emotional madhouse of the Great Neck bussing battle, one can easily see the dangers in calling a referendum. In most cases, a referendum can be read, immediately, as a political equation that adds up to defeat.
>
> "Other factors that make for chaos: indicision and pussyfooting on a firm board commitment to a plan that has been made public.
>
> "A third lesson to be learned from the Great Neck experience: Community support should be obtained from as wide a spectrum as possible, yes--but this should be a *selling* job, not a matter of cautious consultation.
>
> "The Great Neck board has found out, the hard way, that it is not easy to lead--but when the chips are down, there is no one else around to do the job.
>
> "A lot now depends on how well the board and administration handle that job.
>
> "Between the board's February bussing decision and the upcoming May elections, much hangs in the balance: the future of the bussing plan; the future of both board and budget; perhaps, to some degree, the future of Great Neck itself--and to a considerable degree, the future of city-to-suburb bussing.
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> "If the concept of city-suburban cooperation does not soon spread from its tenuous beginnings in a few dozen communities, it may perish.

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(50) Buskin, Martin, "City-to-Suburb Busing," School Management, April, 1969, p. 62.

> And if the white enclave barriers don't fall in a 'liberal' community like Great Neck . . . where, pray tell, *will* they fall?"(51)

Contained Unit Bussing

Although knowledgeable educators recognize that a racial mix is necessary if bussing programs are to effectively serve their purpose, contained unit bussing often comes about when planning is inadequate. Violation of the racial mix concept is often the result of the complexity of logistics and scheduling.

> "Negro students arrived in the all-white receiving schools in 'contained units'--they arrived a few minutes later than other students and attended classes only with their bus-mates. In part, the contained units were a solution to a complex logistics problem involving bus schedules; also, in some schools the transportees heavily out-numbered the resident students so that the integrated schools would be racially imbalanced."(52)

Opinion Polls on Bussing

If opinion polls were used as a basis on which decisions to bus or not to bus students, as a desegregation measure, few bussing programs would be initiated.

> "A heavy majority - 74 per cent - of the nation's school superintendents would not support busing as a desegregation measure, and don't think their communities would either. . . .
>
> "Many respondents cited wasted time, excessive cost, and ineffective results as prime reasons for their objections. And their objections were often strong. . . .
>
> "A parallel Nation's Schools survey of school board members disclosed that busing for desegregation was even more unpopular among board members than among administrators: 88 per cent of the boardmen said they would not personally support a busing program.
>
> "One possible reason: Half of the boardmen responding saw no educational advantage to busing. More than a third of them - 37 per cent - viewed busing as an unimportant factor in educational performance, and the other 13 per cent actively viewed it as an educational disadvantage. While 36 per cent of boardmen thought of busing as an educational advantage, a few qualified their approval: 'Busing of students without regard to race, yes,'. . . 'Busing on the basis of race, no.'"(53)

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(51) Ibid., p. 65.

(52) Crain, Robert L. The Politics of School Desegregation, Aldine Publishing Co., Chicago, 1968, p. 16.

(53) _____________ "Nearly 3 of 4 frown on busing for desegregation," Nation's Schools, May, 1968, p. 88.

A similar opinion poll, taken of teachers, also resulted in a negative view of bussing for the purpose of desegregation.

> "The results of a recent Teacher Opinion Poll show that if the question of bussing between school systems were referred to public school teachers to decide, this method of effecting racial balance would not be used. . . .
>
> "Opinions of urban, suburban, and rural teachers did not differ significantly. Teachers in different regions of the country and in different size school systems also held similar opinions."(54)

School Bussing and Parental Anxiety

A report under the title, School Bussing and Parental Anxiety, reviews both the concerns of host parents and those whose children are bussed. The technical problems as well as psychological ones are cited.

> "The bussing of Negro ghetto children into middle-class white school districts apparently causes more anxiety among host mothers than among those whose children are being bussed, a recent study reports. Using the results of an examination into *de facto* school segregation in a medium-sized northern city, Laurence T. Cagle, professor of sociology, Pennsylvania State University, finds that parents of bussed children are more concerned with technical problems than 'psychological' ones. 'They want to know what happens if their youngsters miss the bus, or how to cope with having to prepare three or four children everyday for three or four different schools.' The host mothers, however, were found to interject fears that bussed children would face psychological maladjustment, . . .
>
> "Of 32 host mothers interviewed, 27, or 84%, anticipated problems, including some not even mentioned by the sending mothers, even though their children were the ones being dislocated. 'As an example,' notes Cagle, 'three of the host mothers, perhaps reflecting their middle class orientation, expressed the concern that the distance between the host school and the ghetto area would be a problem if a child became ill at school. None of the mothers of bussed children mentioned this.'
>
> "The study also showed that 12 of the host mothers felt bussing ghetto children would produce adjustment problems related to the newcomers' strange surroundings or that discipline would suffer at school. 'The child is taken out of his own environment and placed in one which is hard for him to cope with,' commented one parent. 'Children can be cruel, and often this makes a child belligerent when he's in a strange school,' said another. Yet only two mothers of the bussed children mentioned contingencies such as these.

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(54) ________________ "Bussing," Today's Education, March, 1969, p. 7.

> "'There's a major gap in the perspectives of the two groups of parents,' says Cagle. 'The host parents in our study, for example, were concerned about the standards in the school falling because of the bussed children. Yet there has been no evidence at all of their children being harmed by the experience.' He explains the persistence of the fear as a matter of rationalization based on false premises where parents feel their child is too exceptional to let bussing affect him, but that it could affect others less exceptional.
>
> "'Part of the fallacy, of course, stems from their efforts to cover up a basic rejection of the program, but that's not all of it. Typically, middle class mothers are much more concerned about the psychic well-being of their children. They don't want their egos damaged. As a result they interject considerations not germaine to actual problems involving bussed children.'
>
> "Objectively, there is no evidence that bussing itself has hurt the children in the host school, yet the parents continue to fear standards will slip, Cagle notes. As proof he points to the study where mothers of less than half the host-school youngsters reported changes in marks. Of 32 host-school children, seven were seen as doing better, 17 as unchanged, and eight as not performing as well.
>
> "On the other hand, parents of the bussed children reported substantial change. Mothers of 18 of the children felt their children had done better, 17 were perceived as having lower marks, and 17 remained unchanged. The degree of attitude change reported by the sending mothers was also impressive, with 20 claiming their children had shown greater interest in school because of the bussing program, while only nine reflected a loss of interest. 'Although the sample is small, the data suggest that being in classrooms with Negro children does not seriously affect the performance of the majority of the middle class white children, even when judged by mothers' perceptions. And, while the bussing questions had different meanings to the two sets of parents, it seems obvious from the remarks made by host mothers that there were marked undercurrents of antipathy to bussing among them.'"(55)

A report on bussing programs involving the urban communities of Boston, Hartford, and Rochester, provide some conclusions favorable to bussing as adjunct to equalizing educational opportunities.

> "Any inferences or conclusions must be made within the limitations of the available information, but at the same time the available information demands serious study. Perhaps the most striking element is the consistently favorable response from all who have been associated with these projects: educators, pupils, Negro parents, research personnel, and, to a large extent, white parents. Opposition tends to come from sources,

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(55) ______________________, "School Bussing and Parental Anxiety," School & Society, January, 1969, pp. 5-6.

varied as they be (from white conservative newspaper columnists to black militant leaders), who have had little, if any, direct contact with the programs. At the least, it can be said that bussing has created a climate of hope for the families and has resulted in greater self-esteem for the pupils selected. In addition, the evidence of greater motivation for educational development can be interpreted from such items as attendance records, dropout rates, and teacher ratings. Under such circumstances the following conclusions appear justified:

"(a) Busing is a logistically and economically feasible intervention for many cities.

"(b) There is no evidence to support claims of psychological trauma among the participants nor is there evidence that they become alienated from their own community. In fact, the evidence available is in contradiction to both of these fears.

"(c) There is no evidence that the quality of academic achievement among white pupils is depressed by placing educationally disadvantaged black children in their class. Again, the existing evidence points in the opposite direction.

"(d) Black pupils bussed into white elementary schools are quickly assimilated socially and appear to hold their own in the area of peer group relationships. This finding holds in spite of the fact that the children are alert to signs of prejudice among some students and staff members.

"(e) Teachers in white schools experience no particular problem in coping with the educational disadvantages of inner city nonwhites when these youngsters constitute less than 25 per cent of the classroom membership.

"(f) Pupils transported to white schools show significant gains in achievement and mental ability scores when compared with their own prior performance (Boston and Hartford) or when compared with a comparable control group (Hartford).

"(g) Again evidence is found which indicates the relatively slight impact of intensified services and programs when these are initiated in the ghetto school (Hartford); in fact, there appears to be no difference between these ghetto youngsters and those in the typical ghetto school situation.

"(h) Observer ratings and film illustrate a consistent difference in the classroom climate and teacher-child interaction between inner city and suburban classrooms. It appears that this difference is not easily modified by introducing changes into the ghetto school.

"(i) There are signs which suggest that the busing is a more effective intervention in the primary grades than is the case later on.

> "These conclusions, based as they are on interim materials, make a strong case for the effectiveness of busing as a means for moving toward equal educational opportunity. . . ."(56)

The "Audiobus" Innovation to Bussing

Although used in the hinderlands of Colorado where bussing time is long, the audiobus concept addresses itself to urban bussing where one hour rides are not unusual. The plan utilizes audiotapes and headsets to carry carefully outlined programs to children riding busses for long distances. The program and facilities are described as follows:

> ". . . a regular 73-passenger bus specially adapted to transport 56 pupils and accommodate electronic gear that includes a seven-channel audiotape deck and 56 headsets, each with its own volume and channel selector controls. Three channels carry programs for children in grades 1-4, 5-8, and 9-12, and a fourth delivers AM radio programs. The other three channels are reserved for special independent study tapes requested by individual students. . . .
>
> "Listening guides are distributed weekly. Programs, both group and individualized, are classified under five major topics--English, social studies, science, recreation, and fine art (art and music). Children may choose any channel, but most prefer the materials prepared for their own age level. They may, of course, study, talk, or just gaze out of the window rather than tune in.
>
> "The audiotape library, started for the bus project and housed in the administration building, has grown to 450 tapes and is becoming a sizable supplementary education center for the use of all children and teachers in the school. Materials are chosen by a committee representing the various school levels. Teachers are urged to make program recommendations. . . .
>
> "'Through the audiotapes, students have an opportunity to study the local area they traverse, business and economic implications of the community, interesting geological formations, plant life, and changes of season and weather,' says Raine. Famous plays, readings, poems, music, Spanish language tapes, and special programs on the significance of holidays are among the many cultural, educational, and recreational programs being developed."(57)

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(56) Mahan, Thomas W., "The Busing of Students for Equal Opportunities," The Journal of Negro Education, Summer, 1968, pp. 298-299.

(57) Hoffman, Milton, "New Way of Busing Students," The Education Digest, May, 1968, pp. 30-31.

DECENTRALIZATION OF SCHOOLS

Decentralization, as a means of relieving some of the social problems of the schools, has been roundly debated in the larger cities. There is a great deal of unclear thinking relative to the distinction between decentralization and community control. Dean Luvern Cunningham, Ohio State University, makes a clear distinction between the two.

> "Decentralization most often is considered as an administrative device - a way of delegating authority and responsibility closer to the grass roots but within a larger, defined authority system. Community control means 'people' control - constituent control, client control. In community control, citizens are responsible for decisions about educational matters ranging from the trivial to the most fundamental policy questions. Citizens retain the right and the obligation to negotiate personnel matters, establish curriculums, set calendars, determine who has the right to attend public schools, and to secure and expend public monies.
>
> "Historically we have taken deep pride in community control and our educational history is laden with recitations of the virtues of local control and responsibility. Community control has been practiced for decades in thousands of the nation's school districts. Just a few years ago we had well over 100,000 local units of school government (most of them rural) with tax-levying authority. Each one had its own board composed of laymen.
>
> "Tragically, we discovered that this pattern of educational government was not serving us well, at least as we defined our needs at that time. Now we find ourselves confronted with the prospect of making similar conclusions about the existing patterns in our large cities.
>
> "Decentralization - the separation of government into small autonomous units - is also nothing new. Within our large cities, we have had experience with the extremes in decentralization as well as centralization. Philadelphia at one time was divided into more than 80 independent districts with their own boards. Prior to 1896, New York City was similarly fragmented, which led to a chaotic situation and eventually to its present centralized structure.
>
> "The discussion swirling about decentralization and community control would be ludicrous if it were not so critical to those who now are discovering its meaning. Today the storm over these issues centers in the black ghettos of our cities. In these areas there has been absolutely no experience with self-government of any kind. The capacity to self-govern locally has grown in many sections of rural America - not in all - to the point where extreme community control is no longer necessary or desirable. Maturity has set it.
>
> "Not so in the ghetto.

> "We have to make some changes there. What we have to do in our ghettos is invent the grass rootism that has served so well in rural America. Ghetto residents must make decisions and assume responsibility for the educational decisions affecting the lives of their children. We must live through the agonies of extreme decentralization, including community control, if our inner city Americans are going to develop any kind of capacity for self-government.
>
> "Despite all this, decentralization is a partial answer for the problems of big city school districts - no more than that. Indeed it may prove to be only a temporary partial answer. If the purpose is local control, we know that the delegation of complete operational responsibilities to units as small as neighborhoods, including local boards of education, will not result in autonomous existence. The forces which impinge on all institutions at whatever level are so subtle, pervasive and powerful that total control at any level cannot be achieved. Roald Campbell burst that bubble in his excellent essay of a decade ago: 'The Folklore of Local Control.' But this does not reduce the imperative of experimentation. . . ."(58)

The decentralization controversy, as has been indicated, centers largely around the people of the Black ghettos. Raphael Nystrand and Luvern Cunningham summarize the motives in five statements:

> "1. commitment to the egalitarian ethic that citizen participation is in itself *prima facie* good and to be encouraged in all public arenas;
>
> "2. black militant arguments that black children are victimized by white bureaucratic school systems;
>
> "3. belief that neighborhood residents can discern particular local needs better than nonresidents;
>
> "4. belief that schools are controlled by a professional bureaucracy which rules in its own interest, and
>
> "5. such great frustration with the existing structures that virtually any change appears attractive which can be effective with some hope of success."(59)

In summary Cunningham points out the pitfalls inherent in atomizing city districts into fragmented parts.

> "Notwithstanding the potential benefits (and there would appear to be several) of school decentralization, such revisions in themselves would

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(58) Cunningham, Luvern L., "Decentralization: A Forward Step?" Nation's Schools, May, 1969, pp. 61-63.

(59) Ibid., pp. 63-64.

> be insufficient remedy for the organization ills of urban school systems. Some of the attractiveness of these proposals undoubtedly rests in the hope that they will reduce the conflict level surrounding urban school affairs. By shifting the locus of policymaking from the maelstrom of cross pressures which characterize city boards of education to more homogeneous neighborhood levels, this may in fact occur. However, no matter how pressing the need to manage conflict in urban school systems may be, the performance of this function must not be seen as a substitute for responsibility to provide educational services. While decentralization may bring peace to troubled city schools, there is little to indicate that it would lead automatically to improved education. Decentralization is by itself no more a panacea than other alleged curealls of longer standing, such as smaller classes and compensatory programs. Indeed it seems likely that decentralization could result in reduced service levels in particular areas of some school systems.
>
> "The weaknesses inherent in atomizing city districts into purely autonomous districts are very visible to us. They are not to the people who are crying out for a voice. We dare not stand in the way. We should be working full time on developing ideas about what functions and reponsibilities can best be decentralized and which should remain with the central office. We should be in the vanguard, working our way to new solutions with the people."(60)

The controversy regarding decentralization of schools has had the largest amount of publicity and probably its greatest test in New York City. The circumstances giving rise to the controversy developed after the disclosure of scandals regarding the awarding of construction contracts by the school district.

> "Administrative decentralization of the New York City school system has been urged for at least a quarter of a century. The first tangible step was taken in 1961, when a new city-wide Board of Education was installed following the disclosure of scandals in the awarding of school construction contracts. Existing but basically moribund local districts--each headed by its own board--were reorganized and reduced in number. The power to appoint district school board members was shifted from the anachronistic borough presidents' offices to the central Board of Education. In turn, the central Board was required to seek the advice of local screening panels chosen by the presidents of the parents associations in the various districts.
>
> "All this looked fine on paper, but the plan had basic defects. First, the selection method involving the advice of parents associations was less effective in low-income areas than in middle-class sections. (The 'parents association,' as now constituted, is essentially a middle-class device and is not consonant with the style of low-income, poorly educated, minority

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(60) Ibid., p. 64.

> parents.) Second, these local school boards possessed only advisory powers, and their efforts to respond to community demands were often frustrated by the long chain of command leading to the central Board headquarters. . . ."(61)

In response to the urgency of the controversy, the mayor of New York (John Lindsay) appointed an advisory panel, chaired by McGeorge Bundy, president of Ford Foundation. The report produced by this advisory panel has become a classic model on the problem of decentralization, although it was controversial. The basic recommendations of the Bundy panel are as follows:

> "1. The New York City public schools should be reorganized into a Community School System, consisting of a federation of largely autonomous school districts and a central education agency.
>
> "2. From 30 to no more than 60 Community School Districts should be created, ranging in size from about 12,000 to 40,000 pupils--each large enough to offer a full range of educational services, yet small enough to maintain proximity to community needs and to promote diversity and administrative flexibility.
>
> "3. The Community School Districts should have authority for all regular elementary and secondary education within their boundaries and responsibility for adhering to state education standards.
>
> "4. A central education agency, together with a Superintendent of Schools and his staff, should have operating responsibility for special educational functions and city-wide educational policies. It should also provide certain centralized services to the Community School Districts and others on the Districts' request.
>
> "5. The State Commissioner of Education and the city's central educational agency should retain their responsibilities for the maintenance of educational standards in all public schools in the city.
>
> "6. The Community School Districts should be governed by boards of education selected in part by parents and in part by the Mayor from lists of candidates maintained by the central education agency. Membership on these boards should be open to both parents and nonparent residents of a District.
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> "7. The central educational agency should consist of one or the other of the following bodies: (a) a commission of three full-time

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(61) Toffler, Alvin, (Editor) The Schoolhouse in the City, Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, New York, N. Y., 1968, p. 111.

members appointed by the Mayor, or (b) a Board of Education that includes a majority of members nominated by the Community School Districts. The Mayor should select these members from a list submitted by an assembly of chairmen of Community School Boards. The others should be chosen by the Mayor from nominations made by a screening panel.

"8. Community School Districts should receive an annual allocation of operating funds, determined by an objective and equitable formula, which they should be permitted to use with the widest possible discretion within set educational standards and union contract obligations.

"9. Community School Districts should have broad personnel powers, including the right to hire a community superintendent on a contract basis.

"10. All existing tenure rights of teachers and supervisory personnel should be preserved as the reorganized system goes into effect. Thereafter, tenure of new personnel employed in a particular District should be awarded by the District.

"11. The process of qualification for appointment and promotion in the system should be so revised that Community School Districts will be free to hire teachers and other professional staff from the widest possible sources, so long as hiring is competitive and applicants meet state qualifications.

"12. Community School Boards should establish procedures and channels for the closest possible consultation with parents, community residents, teachers, and supervisory personnel at the individual school level.

"13. The central education agency should have authority and responsibility for advancing racial integration by all practicable means. The State Commissioner of Education should have authority himself, or through delegation of the central education agency, to overrule measures that support segregation or other practices inimical to an open society.

"14. The Community School System should go into effect for the school year beginning September, 1969, assuming passage of the necessary legislation in the 1968 Legislature.

"15. The main responsibility for supervising the transition from the existing system to the Community School System should rest with the State Commissioner of Education. The principal planning and operational functions should be assigned to a Temporary Commission on Transition, which should work closely with the current Board of Education, the Superintendent of Schools, and his staff.

"16. The transition period should include extensive programs of discussion and orientation on operations and responsibilities under the Community School System and on educational goals. School board members should be afforded opportunities for training and be provided with technical assistance on budgeting, curriculum, and other school functions."(62)

Criticism of the Bundy plan followed the following lines:

"1. The scheme would Balkanize the City. The creation of two dozen or more quasi-autonomous districts would penalize children moving from one neighborhood to another, because curricula would not be comparable. The system would result in duplication and inefficiency, consuming funds that might better be used in direct improvement of education (e.g., smaller classes and more remedial services). . . .

"2. The plan would deal a blow to integration efforts by creating segregated districts. During its study, the panel frequently heard this fear expressed, mainly by whites. . . . Ten years of efforts to reduce racial imbalance under the prevailing system of New York City school organization had either been beaten down by white resistance or had failed because of population shifts and the general decline of the schools. . . .

"3. The proposals would produce chaos and turn the schools over to vigilantes and racists. . . .

"4. Ghetto parents (if not laymen, generally) are incompetent to deal with educational issues. . . . Proponents of decentralization replied by pointing to the tradition of lay control of public education. . . .

"5. The personnel changes would deprive ghetto schools of adequate staffs and would destroy the merit system.

"6. Decentralization would weaken the teachers' union. Despite the plan's proposal that labor negotiations remain centralized, union leaders argued that the 'breakup' of the system would make it difficult to bargain forcefully. . . .

"7. Decentralization is a shrewd effort to foist responsibility for the failure of the schools onto the shoulders of the poor. . . . According to this thesis, the power structure, unable - or, worse, unwilling - to achieve quality education in the ghetto, would, by surrendering control to the communities, also shift the burden of the failure to the victims themselves. . . .

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(62)Ibid., pp. 114-116.

> "8. The plan only deals with administration; it doesn't contain any educational innovations. . . ."(63)

In summary, the controversy of the New York Bundy report on decentralization calls forth the following conclusions:

> "Decentralization as proposed by the Bundy Report was a means to a fundamental reform--the full entry of the public into public education. . . .
>
> "The Bundy Report and the echoes it is producing around the country were born of failure in public education. The proposed reforms have been described as last resorts, attempts to cope with crisis, but they deserve the most careful attention for what they promise affirmatively. For too long, we have assumed that all education needed were more *resources*, more *knowledge* of the learning process, and more *ingenuity*. What we have failed to seek are the direct energy and involvement of more people, especially the people with the weakest handhold on economic security and social justice--in short, the people who have most to lose if the public schools fail. When they are joined in the struggle to rebuild public education to meet true public need, then perhaps the other three ingredients will be more effectively mobilized and applied."(64)

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(63) Ibid., pp. 121-126.

(64) Ibid., pp. 134-135.

THE LAW AND SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

The Role of Law in School Desegregation

An increasing number of court suits has caused the courts slowly to "hammer out" decisions which gives specificity to the dramatic Supreme Court Decision of 1954. At that time the high court made the sweeping decision that desegregation should take place at all possible speed. Experience now allows for specific court interpretation of the original decision.

> "The courts have indicated that purposeful school segregation is unconstitutional even where it is less than complete and even when it is accomplished by inaction rather than by action. The Supreme Court has not ruled on the issue of whether school segregation not resulting from purposeful discrimination by school authorities is unconstitutional. The lower Federal courts and the State courts are divided on the issue. The courts, however, have upheld State and local remedial measures against the contention of white parents that it is unconstitutional to take race into account in assigning students to schools.
>
> "Thus, the result of most judicial decisions to date has been to leave the question of remedying racial imbalance to the legislative and executive branches of the Federal and State Governments. Only a small number of States--Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and California--have taken steps to require school authorities to take corrective action.
>
> "Federal action therefore is necessary. Since appropriate remedies may require expenditures of substantial sums of money, particularly where school construction may be involved, Congress, with its power to appropriate funds and to provide Federal financial assistance, is far better equipped than the courts to provide effective relief.
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> "There is no clear Federal statutory authority dictating the imposition of sanctions if the States or local school authorities fail to take corrective action. The Constitution, however, confers upon Congress the power to require the elimination of racial isolation in the public schools.
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> "Section 1 of the 14th amendment prohibits any State from denying to any person within its jurisdiction equal protection of the laws. Section 5 gives Congress the power to enforce the amendment by 'appropriate legislation.' Recent Supreme Court decisions make it clear that section 5 is an affirmative grant which authorizes Congress to determine what legislation is needed to further the aims of the amendment. The decisions also establish that Congress may legislate not only to correct denials of equal protection but also to forestall conditions which may pose a danger of such denial.
>
> "Whether or not racial isolation itself constitutes a denial of equal protection, Congress may secure equal educational opportunity by eliminating the conditions which render the education received by most Negroes inferior to that afforded most white children. Such conditions involve, in part, the

harmful effects upon attitudes and achievement which racial and social class isolation have on Negro students. Corrective congressional action also may be seen as a means of enabling Negroes, who generally are poorer than whites, attend schools of lower quality and exercise less influence on school boards, to obtain educational facilities equal to those obtained by white persons.

"There are ample grounds, moreover, for congressional determination that racial imbalance contravenes the equal protection clause. 'State action' to which the 14th amendment speaks, is clearly involved since public officials select school sites, define attendance areas, and assign Negroes to schools in which they are racially isolated. The resulting harm to Negro children involves a denial of equal protection of the laws.

"Although the holding in Brown v. Board of Education was confined to school segregation compelled or expressly permitted by law, the rationale of the Brown opinion was that 'public education . . . where the State has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms,' and that segregated education is unequal education. Just as segregation imposed by law was held in Brown v. Board of Education to create feelings of inferiority among Negro students affecting their motivation and ability to learn, so there is evidence that adventitious segregation is accompanied by a stigma which has comparable effects.

"Congress may require the States to provide solutions which will involve the joint education of suburban and central city children--either through reorganization of school districts or cooperative arrangements among school districts--where racial isolation cannot be corrected within the limits of the central city. The equal protection clause speaks to the State, and school districts are creatures of the State. A State cannot avoid its constitutional obligation to afford its school children equal protection of the laws by pointing to the distribution of power between itself and its subdivisions--a distribution which the State itself has created. As a court once said in another contest: 'If the rule were otherwise, the great guarantee of the equal protection clause would be meaningless.'

"In legislating to implement the 14th amendment, Congress need not limit itself to suspending offensive State legislation but, like the courts, may require States to take affirmative steps to secure equal rights. Inconsistent State statutes or constitutional provisions, of course, must yield to the lawful acts of Congress under the supremacy clause of the Constitution.

"There is ample basis to conclude, therefore, that Congress can enact the laws necessary to eliminate racial isolation and to secure to Negroes equality of opportunity in the public schools."(65)

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(65) ________________, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, Summary of a Report by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, CCR Clearinghouse Publication No. 7, March 1967, pp. 9-11.

Supreme Court Ruling on Freedom-of-Choice

In 1968, the Supreme Court, making its first review of desegregation activities in the schools since the Court decision of 1954, upset freedom-of-choice plans. The Supreme Court ruled without a dissenting vote that freedom-of-choice plans for desegregation were not in true compliance with the law.

> "It did not, however, declare freedom-of-choice plans unconstitutional, a slip which would have thrown into turmoil hundreds of southern school districts now employing such plans. . . .
>
> "The burden on the school board today is to come forward with a plan that promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work now . . . We do not hold that 'freedom of choice' can have no place in such a plan. Rather, all we decide today is that in desegregating a dual system a plan utilizing 'freedom of choice' is not an end in itself."(66)

In another case, this time a decision of the U. S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, the neighborhood school concept was attacked.

> "Almost simultaneously, the U. S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled the 'neighborhood school' concept cannot be used as an excuse to perpetuate segregation.
>
> "The court - six judges sitting *en banc* said, in effect, that a Negro child can't be barred from a school if housing discrimination makes it impossible for him to live in the neighborhood."(67)

Court Ruling Summaries

Freedom-of-choice

> "The Supreme Court rules unanimously that freedom-of-choice desegregation plans are inadequate if they do not desegregate southern schools as rapidly as other available methods would. . . .
>
> "The court, making its first review of means of desegregation since its historic 1954 decision, said 'delays are no longer tolerable.'
>
> "It did not, however, declare freedom-of-choice plans unconstitutional, a step which would have thrown into turmoil hundreds of southern school districts now employing such plans.

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(66) ______________________, "New Supreme Court Ruling Upsets Freedom-Of-Choice Plans," Nation's Schools, July 1968, p. 21

(67) Ibid., p. 23.

"The court in three cases brought by Negro parents from New Kent County, Va., Gould, Ark., and Jackson, Tenn., agreed that freedom-of-choice plans put the burden on the Negro child to request a transfer to an integrated school. Therefore, the court agreed, few Negro children--or their parents--requested transfers and all-Negro schools, and a dual system, were perpetuated.

"In reversing an appellate court decision, the high court required school officials to take affirmative action to dismantle 'the state-imposed dual system' and to create 'a unitary, nonracial system.' Justice William Brennan Jr. wrote:

'The burden on a school board today is to come forward with a plan that promises realistically to work, and promises realistically to work now. . . . We do not hold that "freedom of choice" can have no place in such a plan. Rather, all we decide today is that in desegregating a dual system a plan utilizing "freedom of choice: is not an end in itself.'"(68)

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(68) ____________________, "New Supreme Court Ruling Upsets Freedom-of-Choice Plans," Nation's Schools, July, 1968, p. 21.

DEVELOPMENT OF CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING ALTERNATIVE PLANS FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

A study of the literature indicates clearly that not much has been done to develop criteria, leading to guidelines for evaluating alternatives for school desegregation. Schools have reported many factors and principles contributing to the success or failure of programs and plans that have been implemented. In sifting through these reports, the compiler of this Bulletin has found only one effort along evaluative lines, which is deemed worthy of reporting. This instrument was developed by Dr. Howard W. Hickey, Assistant Director, Mott Institute for Community Improvement.(69) The evaluation instrument is cited as follows:

"AN INSTRUMENT TO EVALUATE ALTERNATIVE PATTERNS FOR SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

"INSTRUCTIONS

> "This instrument is designed to assist local school officials in evaluating alternative patterns for school desegregation. The instrument can be administered to a committee of administrators, board members, teachers, and citizens who have considerable knowledge of their community and school district.
>
> "Sections I and II should be administered and then analyzed. If the answers to Section I are positive (there should be at least twice as many yes responses as no responses), Section II should then be analyzed. If there are fewer positive answers to Section I, school officials should analyze carefully whether the community and school district are ready for desegregation. In that event the items in Section I may be used as criteria or guidelines to help the district prepare for desegregation.
>
> "Analysis of Section II alows selection of plans to be further evaluated. Assignment of a score of one for every acceptable response and a score of zero for every not acceptable response will yield a total score for each alternative. School officials may select the top five alternatives for further evaluation, those which have mean scores above 0.5, or some other meaningful selection process.
>
> "Following selection of alternatives for further study, each plan needs to be refined to represent a specific plan for adoption by the district. Section III of the instrument can then be administered to the committee. The same evaluation process can be utilized for analysis of Section III as was used in Section II, assignment of a score of one for every yes

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(69)Hickey, Howard W., *An Instrument to Evaluate Alternative Patterns For School Desegregation*, Mott Institute for Community Improvement, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.

response and zero for each no response. Total scores for each plan can then be computed. If one plan scores much higher than all others, it can be selected for implementation. If two or more plans have similar scores, school officials could further refine those plans and then readminister Section III. In the event no plan scores high, consideration should be given to further refinement or modification of the plans, and Section III can be administered again.

"After commitment to a plan of action, school officials should develop the specific proposal for implementation and then administer Section IV. Analysis of this section should indicate how workable the plan is in terms of meeting the objectives the school officials have set up for desegregation. If the favorable responses are twice as many as the negative responses, implementation can begin. If not, the plan should be modified, using the criteria in Section IV as guidelines. Section IV can then be readministered.

"As the plan is implemented, continual evaluation will determine if the plan is meeting its objectives.

"SECTION I

"ASSESSMENT OF CURRENT STATUS OF THE COMMUNITY

"This part of the instrument is designed to assist local school officials to systematically assess the current status of the community with regard to:

A. Attitudes
B. Racial Composition
C. Resources

"Respond to each item with yes or no by circling 1 for yes and 0 for no.

"A. Attitudes

		Yes	No
1.	School officials and the citizens of the community generally agree that desegregation does not contradict their purposes for education.	1	0
2.	There is an active group of community supporters for school desegregation.	1	0
3.	Groups which are opposed to school desegregation have been identified.	1	0
4.	There are few or no groups organized against the present school leadership	1	0
5.	School officials are aware of the desegregation policies of other community and public agencies, including city and county planning agencies and model city agencies.	1	0
6.	State officials demonstrate support for school desegregation.	1	0

"B. Racial Composition

		Yes	No
7.	School officials have available information describing the amount and location of residential segregation.	1	0
8.	School officials have available the building-by-building ethnic-racial percentages of student population.	1	0
9.	School officials have available information describing the entire ethnic-racial balance of the district, not just the Negro-white balance.	1	0
10.	School officials have available a description of the natural barriers (railroads, highways, rivers) within the district which enhance segregation.	1	0

"11. School officials have available such demographic projections as those predicated on the effects of urban renewal, migrations, open housing, and building programs. 1 0

12. School officials have available figures on racial composition subject-by-subject and class-by-class in secondary schools. 1 0

"C. Current Resources Available to the District

13. Financial resources are available to provide the educational program the community desires. 1 0

14. Personnel are available to implement the educational program the community desires. 1 0

15. Facilities are available to implement the educational program the community desires. 1 0

16. All existing facilities are now being used. 1 0

17. The school district has completed a projection of student population for the next ten years. 1 0

18. The school district has completed a projection of school needs for the next ten years. 1 0

19. The school district has completed a projection of fiscal resources available for the next ten years. 1 0

WHEN YOU HAVE COMPLETED PART I GO ON TO PART II

"SECTION II

EXAMINATION OF ALTERNATIVE PLANS

"This part of the instrument is designed to assist local school officials to sort out the desegregation plans that they wish to evaluate more systematically. Analyze each alternative as it applies to your community. Rate each item as acceptable or not acceptable by circling 1 for acceptable and 0 for not acceptable.

		Acceptable	Not acceptable
"1.	Bussing of Negro and other minority students to white schools, but controlling enrollment so as to maintain a racial mix similar to the district average.	1	0
2.	Permissive open enrollment of minority students from over-utilized Negro-majority schools to under-utilized white-majority schools, but limiting enrollment so as to maintain a racial mix similar to the district average.	1	0
3.	Permissive transfer of minority students from Negro-majority schools to schools of their choice, but restricting enrollment so as to maintain a racial mix similar to the district average.	1	0
4.	Cross-bussing to transfer minority students from Negro-majority to white-majority schools, and white students from white-majority schools to Negro-majority schools, but restricting enrollment so as to maintain a racial mix similar to the district average.	1	0
5.	Utilize the Princeton Plan, a pairing of two or more oppositely segregated schools in proximity, placing lower grades in one, middle grades in another, and upper grades in a third, for example, resulting in a better racial mix.	1	0
6.	Relocate, or gerrymander, school attendance areas so as to attain a better racial mix.	1	0
7.	Close Negro-majority schools, bus students to other schools, and use the closed facilities for other purposes.	1	0

		Acceptable	Not Acceptable
"8.	Locate new school sites to break down segregation patterns.	1	0
9.	Conduct inter-school seminars at the secondary schools on a regular basis in order to bring students from different racial and ethnic backgrounds together to discuss current issues which are of interest to all students.	1	0
10.	Establish diversified supplementary education centers to which students could be sent for a part of each day for a part of their school curriculum.	1	0
11.	Establish education parks which could enroll large numbers of students from age three through graduate level for college students. There would be open enrollment.	1	0
12.	Establish magnet schools with very high quality programs and staffs. Students would be selected so as to achieve racial and socio-economic mix similar to the district average.	1	0
13.	Maintain neighborhood primary units for pre-kindergarten through grade three, use minimal travel intermediate schools (Princeton Plan, for example), and desegregate secondary schools.	1	0
14.	Develop on a voluntary basis a cooperative plan with one or more school districts, utilizing alternatives described above.	1	0
15.	Initiate court or legislative action to reorganize school districts on a metropolitan basis so that one or more of the alternatives listed above can be implemented on a broad base.	1	0

STOP HERE -- DO NOT GO ON TO PART III

"SECTION III

COMMITMENT TO A PLAN OF ACTION

"This part of the instrument is designed to assist local school officials to evaluate each alternative plan to which an acceptable rating was assigned in Section II. The criteria are grouped according to these categories:

- A. Attitudes
- B. Probable Outcomes
  - a. Racial composition
  - b. Learning patterns
- C. Resources

"Respond to each item with yes or no by circling 1 for yes and 0 for no.

	Yes	No
"A. Attitudes		
1. Public acceptance is possible now for this plan.	1	0
2. The school staff would accept the plan now.	1	0
3. The plan can be easily understood by the staff.	1	0
4. The plan would not contradict the schools' stated goals.	1	0
5. The plan takes into account desegregation policies of other community and public agencies	1	0
6. The plan would have state leadership approval.	1	0
7. There will be an active group of citizens who will support the plan.	1	0
8. Organized opposition to the plan can be identified.	1	0
9. The plan is consistent with federal guidelines for school desegregation.	1	0
"B. Probable Outcomes		
a. Racial composition		
10. The plan will achieve racial mix throughout the school system.	1	0

	Yes	No
"11. The plan will provide desegregation opportunities within the individual schools.	1	0
12. The plan provides for desegregation of faculty.	1	0
13. The plan provides for minority students to become involved in the total school life.	1	0
14. The plan provides for minority parents to become involved in the total activities of the school.	1	0
15. The plan provides a time schedule for the inclusion of all schools in the desegregation.	1	0
16. The plan provides for racial balance in the selection of school administrators.	1	0
b. Learning patterns		
17. The plan provides for increased student learning experiences.	1	0
18. The plan will have a non-negative effect on the learning of white students.	1	0
19. The plan will have a positive effect on the learning of minority students.	1	0
20. The plan provides for compensatory instruction for all low-achieving students.	1	0
21. The plan provides for improvement of educational standards for all children.	1	0
22. The learning potential of minority students will be publicized in the community and within the school staff.	1	0
C. Resources		
23. Financial resources can be made available to implement the plan.	1	0
24. Personnel can be employed to implement the plan.	1	0
25. Facilities can be made available to implement the plan.	1	0
26. All existing facilities would be used.	1	0
27. Travel distance does not consume too much time for students.	1	0

	Yes	No
"28. The plan fits the projection of student population during the next ten years.	1	0
29. The plan fits the projection of school needs during the next ten years.	1	0
30. The plan fits the projection of school resources during the next ten years.	1	0

STOP HERE -- DO NOT GO ON TO SECTION IV

"SECTION IV

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN

"This part of the instrument is designed to assist local school officials to consider important factors in implementing whichever plan they have chosen to adopt. The criteria are grouped according to these categories:

A. Planning and Evaluation
B. Curriculum and Services
C. Attitude Changes

"Respond to each item with a yes or no by circling 1 for yes and 0 for no.

	Yes	No
"A. Planning and Evaluation		
1. There will be sufficient planning time before implementation.	1	0
2. Specific operational steps are clearly delineated.	1	0
3. Non-school personnel will be involved in planning.	1	0
4. Staff responsibilities are clearly delineated.	1	0
5. Student responsibilities are clearly delineated.	1	0
6. There will be communication of the plan to the community.	1	0
7. There will be continuing evaluation of the plan, its objectives, and how well it meets them.	1	0
8. Changes can be made in the plan as a result of continuing evaluation.	1	0
"B. Curriculum and Services		
9. The plan allows for changes and additions to the curriculum when necessary	1	0
10. The plan provides for transitional activities when it is first adopted. (Transitional activities could include weekly seminars, small group discussions, or assemblies in which the desegregation is put into perspective.	1	0

	Yes	No
11. The plan provides curricular additions for white and minority students to learn about the history and culture of minority peoples.	1	0
12. The plan provides for supportive services such as counselling and social services for students who lag in achievement.	1	0

"C. Attitude Changes

	Yes	No
13. The plan provides ways to develop positive student self-concept.	1	0
14. The plan provides ways to help bring about positive attitudinal changes about race by students.	1	0
15. The plan provides ways to help bring about positive attitudinal changes about race by faculty.	1	0
16. The plan provides ways to help bring about positive attitudinal changes about race by citizens.	1	0
17. The plan provides ways for teachers to develop understanding about probable differences in student standards of behavior and cultural background.	1	0
18. The plan provides ways for teachers to develop understanding about probable student academic achievement differences.	1	0
19. The plan provides counselling to white and minority students who have difficulty adapting to the desegregated situation.		
20. The plan provides counselling for teachers who have difficulty adapting to the desegregated situation.	1	0"

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* * *

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Saturation of Services
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4. Developing the Administrative Team
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